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ALL IN A WEEK

Once again, Sri Lanka is making headline news as the 'war' hots up. In 1983 there were foreign journalists and T.V. crews to report the killings of innocent Tamils in Colombo and the destruction of their homes and businesses. Now no cameras can penetrate the Northern and Eastern 'front' where large scale massacres have occurred and planes have been bombing residential areas.
We publish a few headlines which have appeared in leading papers over a period of about one week but much to their frustration the reporters are far away from the scene of 'battle'.
Even journalists like Simon Winchester and Tim Cooper, for daring to enter the 'prohibited zone' (which is virtually the whole of the north and east), have been arrested and deported, except, of course, Penelope Willis (see p 5).

TROOPS MURDERED SCORES OF TAMILS SAYS PRIEST

by Maurice Weaver in Madras

THE ALLEGED MASSACRE of scores of Tamil villagers in the style of Amin or Hitler would be officially investigated, the Sri Lankan Government said yesterday. Details of the incident, which occurred at the village of Udumbankulam in the east of the island, are very sketchy. But at the village a Roman Catholic priest Chandra Fernando, has been quoted as saying he found piles of charred, half-burnt bodies and about 60 severed heads.

Daily Telegraph
24th February 1986

ESCALATION OF FIGHTING IN SRI LANKA IS FEARED

by Steven R. Wiseman New York Times Service

MADRAS, INDIA. – An impasse in the negotiations to end the fighting in Sri Lanka is stirring new fears that the government and its foes may resume their warfare on a larger scale than before the talks began.

International Herald Tribune
28th February 1986

INDIA ISSUES WARNING TO SRI LANKA

from Eric Silver in New Delhi

India yesterday demanded that Sri Lanka find a political solution to its ethnic conflict within a month.
The Foreign Minister, Mr. B. R. Bhagat, told M P's that Delhi would not allow any further worsening of the conflict.

The Guardian
28th February 1986

Rebels may get missiles to strengthen their forces

TAMILS TO STEP UP FIGHT FOR HOMELAND

from Eric Silver in Madras

As Sri Lanka sinks deeper into civil war, Tamil leaders operating from Madras are preparing to step up their military and diplomatic campaign for an autonomous minority homeland.

The Guardian
4th March 1986

PLANES BOMB "HIDEOUTS" IN SRI LANKA

by Maurice Weaver in Colombo

SRI LANKAN AIR FORCE planes were reported yesterday to have bombed and strafed buildings in three towns in the island's troubled northern province.

Daily Telegraph
28th February 1986

COLOMBO DENIES MASSACRE

SRI LANKAN security forces went on a rampage against Tamil civilians in the northern Ninativu island, massacring at least 30 people.

The Guardian
5th March 1986

COLOMBO SETS UP MASSACRE INQUIRY

from Humphrey Hawksley in Colombo

President Junius Jayewardene yesterday ordered the setting up of a high-level committee to investigate allegations that troops massacred up to 80 Tamil civilians in eastern Sri Lanka.

The Guardian
25th February 1986

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Tamil TIMES

UNWINNABLE WAR FOR J.R.

PRESIDENT Jayewardene's Vietnam war against the Tamils of Sri Lanka now has its days of cruel infamy when selective civilian targets are bombed from the air – acts which we have to set against the catalogue of numerous crimes against humanity for which President Jayewardene is responsible as Commander-in-Chief, and his Minister of National Security is just as guilty for aiding and abetting. To this question we shall return shortly. The primary one, however, is whether an 80 year old Commander-in-Chief a la Petain can achieve the results that he is vainly after.

It is said that history repeats itself because nobody learns from history. The French and their colons would have won the war against the Algerian freedom fighters in their struggle for independence had firepower and military sophistication been the deciding factors. In fact, the French designed a constitution, which Jayewardene has aped, without taking into account that French political culture is very different from the Sinhala Buddhist political milieu, in the belief that the vesting of the powers of the state in the person of an executive president such as De Gaulle would have achieved for them, among other things, the retention of Algeria. Unfortunately President Jayewardene does not possess the political acumen of the great General. Bombing innocent civilians and searching and destroying young innocent school boys in addition to raping their sisters and looting their private property will only stiffen Tamil resistance against our own Hitler's machine. General Chiang Kai-Shek obtained similar advice from the German General von Falkenhausen in his campaign against Mao Tse Tung but ended up in Taiwan. Not all the American weaponry and military advisers could help Chiang's generals in their war against the great Chinese leader. It has been the same in Israel's Lebanon war and so has it been in so many other wars against people who are determined not to bend or bow to the military gangsters raping their lands.

President Jayewardene and his badly divided Cabinet might as well by now know that the Tamils of Sri Lanka have no intention of surrendering any inch of their territory. Tamil Resistance is just as determined as Europe's underground resistance was against Hitler's blitzkrieg. President Jayewardene should as well be aware of the fate that befell Marcos, a man whom he obviously admired. A biography of Marcos with the name of 'Marcos' on the spine of the book was one of the few decorative volumes in Jayewardene's presidential office when it was situated in the old Ministry of External Affairs building. That volume may have been quietly disposed of after the collapse of Jayewardene's mirror mate. What Jayewardene should learn from these recent events in history is that not even the friendship of President Reagan and Mrs Nancy Reagan could save Ferdinand and Imelda Marcos.

The second point is that war criminals, criminals who have condoned and perpetrated criminal acts of villainy against innocent young men, school children, girls and the old in our community should answer for their crimes. That was the basis of the Nuremberg trials, the Tokyo trials, and the trial of Adolf Eichman.

We live in an age when civilization is respected and the sanctity of humanity is an inviolable right. To display crude disregard for what New Delhi or London thinks about his foul acts, as Jayewardene recently told a ***Times of India*** *journalist is to fly in the face of reason. Paul Sieghart in his* ***Sri Lanka: A Mounting Tragedy of Errors*** *has already indicated that Jayewardene should have been prosecuted for certain misdeeds had he not enjoyed presidential immunity. The time has arrived for leaders of the civilized community in Sri Lanka and the world to devise a framework for the trial and sentencing of Sri Lanka'a war criminals. Even the late President Lyndon Johnson was put on trial at Stockholm by Bertrand Russell among other men and women of eminence for his crimes against the people of Vietnam. Jayewardene and his henchmen who occupy the bunker in Colombo should, we state, begin to be investigated.*

THE SQUEEZE IS ON

Once upon a time, there was a government and a leader, which – in the words of Martin Luther King (though it sullies his memory to mention him in this connection) – 'had a dream'. What dream? The dream, so it was alleged, of turning Sri Lanka into an economic wonderland, with a floating rupee, free trade zones, huge development projects funded by foreign aid, and the gradual contraction of democratic rights in order to make the island a safe haven for investors.

Ten years later, the dream has turned to nightmare, and the dreamer (like Marcos) is deep in his Sinhalese bunker, armed with his helicopter gunships, his troops little more than untrained killers, and the landscape heaped with Tamil (and Sinhalese) corpses. In consequence, national revenue, much of it derived from the labour of Tamils, cannot meet the rising cost of killing Tamils; the eggs which were to be laid by the golden goose of tourism, now frightened off by the sounds of gunfire, have turned out addled; tea prices have dropped on the world market; remittances from Sri Lankan migrant workers (or servants) in the Gulf have fallen; and at long last the pressure on donor countries to suspend, or cut, aid to Sri Lanka is mounting.

We therefore wholeheartedly applaud the human rights efforts of Judith Hart, the former British Minister of Overseas Development, and her Emergency Committee on Sri Lanka (whose members include Bishop Desmond Tutu and Andrew Young, the former US Ambassador to the United Nations) to deny to the murderous regime in Colombo the development resources which it misuses on settler-colonization programmes, on grandiose projects with a low ratio of benefit to the people (especially to the Tamils) and on the purchase of rapidly increasing amounts of genocidal weaponry.

One thing, however, Judith Hart got plain wrong She reported, naively, that President Jayewardene 'now very much wants a political settlement with the Tamils'; even, that he had 'changed his views since his approval last month of a military solution'. What Jayewardene professes to 'want', Dame Judith, depends on who he is speaking to. To his own constituency, he speaks war; to world opinion, peace. Yet the world's awareness of the truth abut Sri Lanka, and of the fundamental justice of the Tamil struggle, is also growing, even if human rights violations and mass murder on the island – on a scale

Continued on page 5

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AFTER MYLAI, MOOLAI

by K. R. Manickan

Bombs and incendiary devices dropped from low flying planes on heavily populated villages. Bullets rain from helicopters in the sky. Rockets fired into densely crowded city. Villagers working in the paddy fields mown down with machine gun fire. All this in Sri Lanka.

THE SRI LANKAN President. J. R. Jayewardene, recently said to a reporter that he (the President) had told General Walters of USA, that the Sri Lankan forces cannot be condemned for human rights violations since the American forces also had committed atrocities in Vietnam. The Sri Lankan President appears to have ordered his troops to totally emulate the American example!

In the Eastern Province of Sri Lanka more than 80 persons working in paddy fields were gunned down by the security forces on 19th February. The official account was that they were "terrorists or terrorist sympathisers". This is the standard justification advanced by the Sri Lankan forces for all their actions.

According to community leaders who visited the scene in the Amparai district, they were told by eye witnesses that troops rounded up farm workers, tied their hands and made them sit in a group. After allegedly looting a nearby village, the soldiers returned and shot the workers. Afterwards they burnt the bodies.

One theory is that the massacre at Amparai was a swift reprisal for an ambush of an army convoy involving a big land mine explosion near Trincomalee, in which 44 Sinhalese were killed. According to official reports only four of the dead were soldiers; the others were civilians travelling under the protection of the army. According to Tamil militant sources the army was escorting new settlers to colonise the traditional Tamil homelands.

In the last week of February the citizens of Jaffna in the North planned a protest strike, to express their dissatisfaction about the hardships they had been subjected to by the security forces, especially the declaration of a 1000 metre "security zone" around the Dutch fort in Jaffna, now serving as barracks for the Sri Lankan army. The security zone covers the heart of the only city of any size in the Northern Province and within this zone are all the major institutions.

Pensioners Killed

The precarious position in which the citizens are placed was gruesomely demonstrated when three elderly pensioners walking towards the fort early morning one day, in order to be first in the queue to collect their pensions, were shot dead by the sentries on the ramparts because they "mistook the pensioners for militants".

Following this incident and other harassments, the citizens organised a protest. On the morning of the protest low flying planes and at least three helicopters of the Sri Lankan Air force circled the town and adjoining villages dropping bombs and firing rockets and machine guns. Once again, according to the government communique "terrorist hide-outs were attacked". It was described as a "pre-emptive strike following intelligence reports that the militants were planning a new offensive".

But the reports from the scene are otherwise. Apart from houses in the town, villages such as Kokuvil, Kondavil, Thavadi, Inuvil, Suthumalai, Manipay and Kolumputhurai were the targets. It was the second attack of its kind in a week, and indicated new tactics on the part of the Sri Lankan security forces. This further reinforces the statement made by the President at the beginning of the year that he will seek a military solution to the ethnic conflict.

Commenting on the failure of all attempts to find a peaceful solution, Mr. Sivasithamparam of the moderate Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) said, "The main difficulty is that the Sri Lankan government consisting mainly of Sinhalese politicians is not prepared to share power with the Tamils of Sri Lanka who are as much indigenous to the island as the Sinhalese. They may be a minority but they lived under an independent Tamil kingdom at the time of arrival of the first Europeans, the Portuguese in 1505. They lost their sovereignty first to the Portuguese, then to the Dutch and finally to the British. With independence from foreign powers, the Tamils of Sri Lanka can expect to be treated as a nation".

There is a village in Jaffna Peninsula with the name Moolai. The similarity between this name and Mylai in Vietnam might be a coincidence. But the horrendeous massacre that took place at Mylai and what is perpetrated in the villages and towns of the Tamil areas of Sri Lanka by the security forces is no coincidence but planned according to none other than the President himself.

"I am not ready yet to tackle Jaffna", he said in the latter part of last year. Obviously he now feels ready to tackle Jaffna and by tackling he means destroying wholesale, civilians and all.

India's Concern

In the Indian Parliament, the External Affairs Minister Mr. B. R. Bhagat, expressed India's concern over the deteriorating situation in Sri Lanka. He accused the Sri Lankan armed forces of killing innocent civilians and said that their activities contained elements of genocide. He called on President Jayewardene to find a political settlement to the crisis within a month.

If no proposal for a settlement is forthcoming from the Sri Lankan government, India probably will abandon its attempt to bring together the two sides to the conflict, the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil leaders. What then will happen is anybody's guess.

In early February the Indian Foreign Secretary Romesh Bandari cancelled his planned visit to Colombo, apparently on the orders of the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Mr. Bandari had been acting as a liaison officer between the Sri Lankan government and the Tamil leaders including militant leaders. It was as a result of his endeavours that the talks at Thimphu in the kingdom of Bhutan took place last year but these proved abortive.

Following the breakdown of these talks the Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF) sent through India, their proposals for a linguistic state for the Tamils in Sri Lanka. Up to now there has been no meaningful response from the Sri Lankan government.

The government of Sri Lanka has delivered a strong protest to India in response to criticisms in the Indian Parliament on 26th February, of its handling of the Tamil separatist problem. In the statement, Sri Lanka expressed deep disappointment and surprise at the Indian Minister's remarks. The statement said that while the term genocide was used in connection with the alleged killing of Tamils, India had not mentioned the killing of Sinhalese. It accused India of giving sanctuary to Tamil militants.

Finance Minister's Worries

On 2nd March the Sri Lankan Finance Minister, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, gave a warning that unless the internal strife in Sri Lanka was settled soon, foreign aid to the country would be cut. He said that peace was fundamental to Sri Lanka's economy. He specifically referred to the meeting in June of the country's aid donors and pointed out that the aid donors were prepared to continue with aid last year only because peace talks were about to start in Bhutan. If no solution is in sight before this year's meeting, donor confidence in Sri Lanka would be lost. The present level of development was due to massive foreign aid and if the aid was curtailed, some projects would have to be stopped. The effect would be felt within the next six months should the separatist war continue. Another major problem, he said, was defence which accounted for 17% of the budget and is now ten times what it was when the present government took power in 1977.

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OXFORD UNION DEBATE ON SRI LANKA

AT THE Oxford Union on February 22 1986, with Jeya Wilson in the chair and an audience of over 200, hours of talk – some of it perceptive and well-informed, the rest either foolish or Sinhalese-racist – raged, while hundreds continue to die in Sri Lanka; the air of the chamber full of good (and bad) intentions, while the polity of the island slowly disintegrates and the future is being determined on the ground, not in speeches or negotiations.

However, the fact that the old Sri Lanka will never be put together again as a unitary state was the ghost at this wedding. Once a taboo subject – even for Tamils – it seemed gradually to dominate the proceedings, even if (out of fear) not confronted. Indeed, only the most rabid Sinhalese chauvinist, and you could see a good few of them blindly grinning on the benches, persists with the fiction that political and economic business can any longer be conducted as usual, in a country tormented by the stupidity and brutality of Colombo.

Dr. David Walton, of the University of Sussex, made a politically cautious but often under-informed beginning to the proceedings; occasionally his even-handedness betrayed the truth, as well as offending a large part of the audience. According to Walton, both communities are equally beset by 'irrational fears'; there is a 'fundamental homogeneity' between them, despite the 'stress' – that is, the mass murder – 'of the last years'; while the Tamil response to it had been 'remarkably restrained'. (All three propositions are false).

But at least there was no nonsense, no statistical rigging from him about the size of the Tamil population – 'around 18 per cent' – of Sri Lanka. It was left to subsequent Sinhalese speakers to reduce the Tamil proportion in the usual fashion by separating 'Indian' from 'indigenous' Tamils in order to minimize the legitimacy of Tamil claims. (The wilder Sinhalese obviously hope that their barbarism, and the continuing Tamil flight from it, will ultimately do the statistical trick for them).

Two cliches, however, Walton did offer: the assertion that the Tamils were 'favoured by the British', described later as a 'well-cultivated myth' by Professor A. J. Wilson, and the imputation that the cause of the 'Indian' Tamils has not been espoused by the 'Sri Lankan Tamils'. Since the Oxford Union President, for her own reasons, had not seen fit to invite any left spokesmen, whether Sinhalese or Tamil, the arguement went unanswered. No wonder, too, that out in the street, leafletting the audience as it arrived, younger Tamils were justly angry at these exclusions from the roster of speakers.

The day's best turn, comic if it had not been so sinister and incoherent, came next from Douglas Wickramaratne, 'President of the World Federation of Sri Lankan Associations'. But for most of the audience, perhaps some of the Sinhalese included, only one question could form in their minds as his embarrassing presentation unfolded. **How is it that the Sinhalese case, all round the world, can be so badly presented?** Are there so few men of distinction on their side who can speak, with care, intelligence and grasp of their own case (let alone any other), about Colombo's perceptions, perceptions – however wicked or suicidal – which nevertheless need to be heard in a debate like this? Or is it that those who hold power – a Marcos, a Jayewardene, a Duvalier, between whom there is little to choose – and the flunkeys who represent them, feel that they need not trouble themselves with arguing the justice of their cause; that it is quite enough, as long as you hold state power, to shoot and kill your opponents, pillage their homes and rape their women, and let others ask the questions?

A Report by
David Selbourne

According to Wickramaratne, first arousing laughter and then disgust in the audience, the accounts of Colombo's increasingly grotesque human rights violations are 'Tamil propaganda'; the Sinhalese – in his version continuously on the receiving end of Tamil violence – are, *being Buddhist,* essentially 'pacific'. Indeed, their 'weakness', we were solemnly told by Wickramaratne, arises from their 'lack of aggression'. (It was, presumably, the same 'lack of aggression' which raped, looted, set fire to and even beheaded its victims in July 1983; or, besotted with drink, clubbed down the prisoners of Welikade).

But Wickramaratne had even more in his locker to assist him, and his masters in Colombo, to lose the argument at this meeting: 'the privileges given to the Tamils are not available', he declared, 'to any other minority in the world except the whites of South Africa'. With friends like him, what need has Colombo of enemies?

Neelan Tiruchelvam at least made an attempt at a rational analysis of causes and circumstances; made an attempt at lucid explanation, rather than offering a mere display of Tamil counter-obsessions. He described how the concept of the 'poly-ethnic' and secular state had been undermined by Colombo's policy after independence; how minority Tamil nationalism had responded to majority Sinhalese nationalism; how the Tamil case had proceeded from rejected demands for racial equality and fundamental rights to an 'assertion of freedom'; how the Sinhalese majority had (fatally) 'refused to recognize the collective self-perception of the Tamils'; how, in consequence, the perception of the two communities was now incorrigibly 'adversarial', its effect on the Sri Lankan state 'irreversible', and the whole an 'extraordinary tragedy' whose outcome was 'impossible to predict'. By this stage, I noticed many of the Sinhalese had stopped listening; as if the argument was not their business, or beyond them.

M. Sivasithamparam, TULF President, denied that Tamil demands were the product of Tamil fears. They rested instead, he claimed, on 'inalienable rights'; Tamil fears merely strengthened Tamil aspirations. This was a 'racial/ethnic conflict' – no Marxist he – in which the Tamils refused to accept a 'master-slave relation', and refused to be '2nd class citizens in their own country'. **That there was in Sri Lanka a Tamil Chief Justice, and Tamil Inspector-General of Police, he described as 'window-dressing'. 'Has it stopped one Tamil being killed?',** he asked, his voice shaking the rafters. 'When we ask for our rights', he cried out to the Sinhalese, smiling opposite him, 'what do you do? You kill us, you rob us, you burn our houses'. And 'when the village of My Lai was destroyed by the Americans in Vietnam, the whole world knew about it'; yet in Sri Lanka thousands have died – over 2,000 Tamils since June 1985 alone – their homes destroyed, their villages ransacked and put to the torch, largely in silence.

The Tamils, Sivasithamparam continued, 'have a right to self-determination, have a right to their homelands, and a right to insist that their brothers in the plantations have full citizenship rights'. But when the Tamils, through the TULF, come before the Sinhalese to negotiate such demands, the Colombo government, he complained angrily to a growingly attentive audience, 'pretended to negotiate with us for three long years. Jayewardene made us lose the credibility we had with our boys. Who are these boys?', he asked. 'They are flesh of our flesh, blood of our blood', he answered. 'Today', he concluded, 'we have placed our proposals on the table for a linguistic region. We are not demanding something unknown. Many other peoples have made such demands. But they have answered us with guns'.

The rift between Sinhalese and Tamils, in this chamber as in Sri Lanka, was by now a yawning one. Mahes Wijesiri, secretary of the Sri Lanka Association North West, for a short while gave a persuasive impression – unlike Wickramaratne – of trying to heal it. Sri Lanka was, and always had been, a 'mosaic'; 'race, gentlemen', he declared genially, 'is a myth'. There was 'neither racial superiority nor racial inferiority in Sri Lanka'. As to 'killings, rape and plunder', 'yes, they have happened, but you must look to us, as Buddhists, for something positive'. (But by what right is it demanded of the victim that he see any virtue whatsoever in his attackers?).

And to the audience's renewed embarrassment and restlessness, he pleaded – calling his questioners 'sir' and speaking of 'our tradition of tolerance' –

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WAS SHE A SPY?

Mrs. Penelope Willis, from Cornwall in UK, was released recently in Jaffna by the Tamil militants who held her captive for about a month. "She was a spy" accuse the Eelam Revolutionary Organistion (EROS), who took her into their custody at Mullaitivu, in North Eastern Sri Lanka.

From Mullaitivu, she was taken to Jaffna peninsula across the lagoon and released there to an official from the British Embassy and a representative of the International Red Cross. The Sri Lankan government, which kept quiet after earlier demanding that the lady should be released unconditionally and refusing to let in the International Red Cross, was eventually made to accede to the conditions attached to the release and arrange a cease-fire by its security forces on the day of the release.

EROS maintains that her presence in an area declared as forbidden to foreigners by the Sri Lankan government was suspicious and documents found in her possession indicated that she had strong links with organisations such as British Defence Studies Circle and British Special Air Services (SAS). She had admitted to meeting in Colombo persons from SAS and various persons in the Sri Lankan government connected with defence. She also had contacts with the Sri Lankan National Intelligence Bureau and apparently reached Mullaitivu in an army convoy.

The question that is now being asked is, was she meant to be captured? Both she and the Sri Lankan government could not have expected her not to be noticed in that forbidden area. If she was expected to be taken into custody by the militants, what was the purpose behind it? Had some harm happened to the 64 year old sick woman, while in the custody of the Tamil militants, what would have been world reaction to that? Had the visit been "arranged" to bring discredit to the Tamil militants?

Tamils all over the world can now breathe a sigh of relief that the incident has ended in the best possible way. It was a most stupid action of a person however well intentioned to venture out like that. More so, when her connections and circumstances are so suspicious.

EDITORIAL – *continued from page 2*

outrunning South Africa – are cheaply regarded in an international sea of violence. The uncomfortable spotlight shines with increasing intensity upon the evil being directed from Colombo; to Washington and Moscow, to Ottawa, Canberra and London, what is going on becomes daily plainer.

One day, who knows, even Delhi may waken from its slumbers, and teach Colombo a lesson which it will not forget in a hurry.

CALL THE RED CROSS

JAFFNA CITIZENS' Committee requests President Jayawardene to permit a team from the International Red Cross to stay in the country not only as observers but also to provide relief to the refugees.

In a memorandum signed by its Secretary, Mr. R. Balasubramanium, Attorney at Law, the Committee stated that Jaffna had now become an area of refugees. Non-governmental agencies were compelled to go to their rescue whether the refugees were in camps or in private houses.

The memorandum concluded by requesting the government to desist from finding a military solution and to seek a political solution, recognising the sovereignty of the Tamil people.

Oxford Union Debate

Continued from page 4

that he was 'trying to appeal across to you, to bring some amity'. So far, so good. In appearance, this was friendly; but **in *substance* Wijesiri was offering only another bland evasion of the moral and political issues raised by state-organized murder, animalistic rape and condoned loot by a rampaging army.** For this, Wijesiri's type of 'assurances' of future Sinhalese goodwill (to the survivors) is to add insult to injury. But the speech served one crucial purpose: to show the non-Sri Lankans in the audience tht the Sinhalese lion has two heads. One head is domesticated, and has a sincere smile on its face; the other head is both blind and brutal.

Professor A. J. Wilson spoke of what little remains of Sri Lanka's future; of the 'narrow ethno-nationalism' of the 'Sinhalese elites'; of the (wrong) perception of India as 'the enemy'; of big power geo-political interests in the region; and of Colombo's efforts – described by Wilson as 'devoid of much significance' – to 'keep India in check' by, on the one hand, striking up alliances with countries which 'encircle' India (Pakistan, Bangladesh, China) and, on the other, by entering into diplomatic and military 'arrangements' with states which India refuses to have anything to do with (South Africa, Israel). Wilson argued that the Israeli presence had angered the Moslem states; Saudi Arabia was refusing to give aid to the Mahaveli project. **(Obviously Colombo prefers to kill with the aid of Mossad than to irrigate with Arab money).** He spoke also of America's own two-headedness; with its lease of 1000 Sri Lankan acres for its Voice of America station and its Kitty Hawk visit on the one hand, and its 'hedging of bets' on the other. **Thus, the State Department, Wilson asserted, is 'keeping in touch with Tamil organizations, in case Eelam materializes'.** So is the CIA, though he did not say so.

And, finally, to Bradman Weerakoon, bureaucrat extraordinary, 15 years' secretary to a succession of prime ministers, 30 years in Sri Lanka's public service; bland and bloodless, but both intelligent and courteous. Here was a man capable of skating on thin ice – and telling half-truths ('the TULF has moved out of the framework of the Sri Lankan parliamentary system') as if they were the gospel; polished not only in his rejection of 'force as the only option', but also in his seeming deafness to the cries of the victims, Sinhalese and Tamil. It was 'not of value to apportion blame for the present situation' (an argument to absolve even a Hitler); the conflict was a 'sensitive issue'; Sinhalese and Tamils 'can still live together in one united Sri Lanka' – provided that the Tamils let bygones be bygones, which they will now never do, and that each community pays the price for a mutual accommodation of its interests within a unitary Sri Lanka.

Yet in his smooth performance – with the rougher Sinhalese elements in the audience still not listening – you could hear something distinctive, even if Weerakoon himself did not intend it: namely, *open talk* of the possibility of a Tamil state, even if only to reject it; *admission* that the 'life of the community' in Sri Lanka, especially in the North, had been 'seriously dislocated'; and *acknowledgment* that 'the use of the economic weapon by the Tamils could have disastrous consequences for Sri Lanka'.

But in the end, he too – however intelligent, however 'sophisticated' – was showing his true colours; and revealing to Tamils and non-Tamils alike exactly what the struggle for justice in Sri Lanka (against a mountain of lies and a torrent of evil) faces. And how did this polished bureaucrat reveal it? Simply **by describing, in impeccable administrative accents, the Sinhalese colonization of Eastern Sri Lanka by armed settlers as 'part of a food production drive'.**

No wonder that the Tamils are insatiably angry; no wonder that Tamil youth has taken up the gun; no wonder that TULF politicians, still pursuing the path of negotiation, are so embattled. And no wonder, too, that the island's torment is increasing; and that the old Sri Lanka has gone for ever.

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Around the World . . .

CANADA

Canadian Aid Used to Repress Tamils

The Eelam Tamil Association of Edmonton, in a brief presented to the special joint committee on Canada's international relations, charged that "Canadian aid is being used to colonize Sinhalese in Tamil speaking areas" by the Sri Lankan Government.

David Thevarajan, speaking on behalf of the Association, said the Canadian Government should consider the pathetic plight of three million Tamils living on the Island. He told the Committee that $80,000,000 was given to Sri Lanka by CIDA to fund an irrigation scheme and that CIDA vehicles had been used to move Sinhalese settlers into Tamil areas.

The Committee was asked to consider the suspension of all aid to Sri Lanka until the Tamil question was resolved by its present Government. It was told that Saudi Arabia had suspended its aid programme because of the Government's policies towards the Tamil minority. Canada is the fourth largest donor of aid to Sri Lanka.

USA

US ARMS

The United States does not supply arms to militants, said Mr. James W. Spain, the new American Ambassador in Sri Lanka, when he visited the Maha Nayakes at Kandy. To this the Mahanayake of the Asgiriya Chapter, Ven Palipane Sri Chandananda Thero, retorted that the US government might not be supplying arms but "terrorists who had fled to America were helping their friends with arms". The Mahanayake Thero acknowledged that it was not correct to destroy life according to Buddhism. He added that it was the duty of those who ruled the country to maintain law and order. "Taking up arms to counter terrorism is a matter to be handled by the state, even though it is not approved in Buddhism".

At Malwatte the Ven Sirimalwatte Ananda Mahanayake Thero told the Ambassador that the goodwill and assistance of the US was necessary "to win the terrorist problem faced by Sri Lanka".

* * * *

TAMIL WELFARE & HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE, Washington DC, USA conducted a memorial meeting on 18 January 1986, to pay respect to the hundreds of Sri Lankan Tamils who had lost their lives in the current ethnic turmoil in the island. Hindus, Muslims and Christians numbering over 300 attended. Dr. Benjamin J. Raj, co-ordinator of the Committee, read a message outlining the ancient history of the Tamil language, the contribution to the world by past and present generations of Tamils and the current distress the Tamils are undergoing in Sri Lanka. Those who had died just because they were Tamils will for ever be remembered as long as Tamils live, the message concluded.

Eelam Tamil Association of America

Lobbying of Senators and Representatives, both at State and National level, is a forte of the E.T.A.A. In recent months contacts have been established with, among others, Massachussetts Senators Edward Kennedy and John F. Kerry, Mr. F. Schifter (Asst. Secretary of State), officials working for U.S. Senators Alan Cranston, John Kerry, Richard Lugar and Charles Mathias Jr (all members of the U.S. Foreign Relations Committee), Mr. Grant Smith (South Asia head of the U.S. State Dept.) and Mr. Robert Hey (Chief Editor, Christian Science Monitor).

E.T.A.A. has also been involved in arranging for discussions and seminars on Sri Lanka's ethnic conflict at the South Asia Forum of Harvard University and the M.I.T., and Maryland University. Dr. Subramania Swamy (visiting Professor at Harvard) has been of great assistance in arranging some of these interviews and meetings.

NEW GUINEA

Openings in Papua New Guinea

A subscriber in P.N.G. presently holidaying in London has drawn our attention to an advertisement in the Daily Telegraph of 27th February announcing 27 vacancies for Engineers and Technicians (Civil, Electrical and Mechanical) in the Electricity Commission. Applications in writing giving full details of personal particulars, qualifications and work experience and a passport sized photograph should be forwarded to:

Overseas Staff Section, Papua New Guinea Electricity Commission, P.O. Box 1105, Boroko, Papua New Guinea.

Closing date for receipt of applications is 3rd April 1986.

Tissues for Export

"The Sri Lankan government is exporting tissues surgically extracted from arrested or murdered Tamils", accuses Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, a militant group in Sri Lanka.

The group's publication goes on to state that, "in November 1985 the Sri Lankan government decided to establish a human tissue bank in Colombo and to export the tissues abroad. Human corneas, heart valves, skin, bones, kidneys, membranes, etc are sold abroad in large numbers. Tamil youths murdered by the Sri Lankan armed forces, are the source of supply for this gruesome enterprise". "Sri Lanka has made genocide of Tamils a thriving business", the publication concludes.

BRUNEI

Tamil protest over envoy's terror claim

A ROW has erupted over a Sri Lankan minister's suggestion that some Tamils in Brunei might be funding terrorists.

Mr. Thangarajah Hariram, a former President of the Sri Lankan Association of Brunei Darussalam, angrily accused Deputy Foreign Minister Tyronne Fernando, of "washing his dirty linen abroad".

And he challenged him to prove that some Sri Lankans in Brunei were funding Tamil separatist rebels waging an armed struggle in their own country.

Mr. Hariram, a Tamil acountant, said he was sending a protest letter to Sri Lanka's Prime Minister Premadasa.

"Mr. Fernando should have come to Brunei to spread goodwill and harmony, not to damage the reputation of Sri Lankans, many of whom have been in Brunei for decades."

Mr. Fernando's comments were made to the Bulletin last week at the end of his four-day visit to the Sultanate.

He said he had warned the Brunei Government that Tamil rebel sympathisers could also threaten Brunei's security.

Mr. Hariram who has been in Brunei 28 years, said: "The minister should not have made such serious allegations without producing proof.

"By doing this, he had jeopardised the interests of his countrymen in Brunei who have earned millions of dollars in foreign exchange for Sri Lanka."

He said he did not know of any Sri Lankan Tamils in Brunei who were sending money to the rebel factions.

Mr. Hariram was also fuming that only a select few Sri Lankans were informed of the minister's visit.

"He should have hosted a tea-party for the few hundred Sri Lankans in Brunei and said these things to our faces and not behind our backs," Mr. Hariram added.

JAPAN

Tamils in Tokyo celebrate

A Christmas service in Tamil was held in the house of Mr. and Mrs. Silan Kadirgamar in Tokyo on Christmas Day 1985. About 15 Tamils, both Christians and Hindus, joined in the service and the lunch that followed. The Bible lessons were read by Mr. K. Kabilamany and the prayers led by Mr. Charles Jeeva. The Jeyaseelan family sang a special song. A short meditation for the day was presented by Silan Kadirgamar. It should be recalled that a similar service was held on Christmas Day 1984 in the home of Charles and Somina Jeeva.

On 19th January, the first non-working day after Thai Pongal, a larger group of Tamils, this time including Indian Tamils, met in the home of Mr. and Mrs. S. Jeyaseelan in the Kawasaki Prefecture. Thai Pongal was celebrated in the traditional way. Prayers were said according to both Hindu and Christian traditions. Traditional Pongal food was served, followed by lunch. Mrs. Manonmani Sanmugadas gave a short talk in Tamil on the significance of Thai Pongal. Mr. Ravi Kumar speaking on behalf of the Indian Tamils present summed up the mood when he made a passionate appeal to those present that they should eventually return to their 'homelands' to serve country and people there.

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U.S. & SOUTH ASIA – *by a special defence correspondent*

THE following is a condensed version from a seminar conducted by the University of California (State/Public) Campus in January 1986. It gives a candid version of the current US Foreign Policy towards Sri Lanka. The Reagan administration in public remains neutral and recognises India as a regional power. But indirectly Washington has tilted towards Colombo, at least for the present.

Sri Lanka is the most distant country from U.S. and Washington has no significant trade that passes through the Indian Ocean. First, while the U.S. has no major economic interest in the area, it does have real interest in freedom of navigation on the high seas. (The impact on Tokyo's oil lifeline through Indian Ocean was considered). Second, although there is little reason for the U.S. to sail across the Indian Ocean to support its fleet (unlike the Soviet Union), the Americans have developed important naval facilities in the area in recent years. The establishment of the base at Diego Garcia was motivated by several reasons.

Establishment of the Rapid Development Force (RDF) and the expansion of the facilities at Diego Garcia were meant to fill the gap – for the lack of bases for troops in times of crisis. RDF was designed largely to deter Soviet actions in the Gulf, even though there are serious doubts about how effective the force might be.

Super-power build-up in the Indian Ocean area is directed at the other's rival. American expansion of Naval forces was not in response to any littoral crisis or the desire to establish a presence in order to pressure local states. It is difficult to see any serious rationale for a large American naval presence in the Indian Ocean. American SLBM (Ballistic Missiles) developments in the area have already been hotly debated and largely discarded. Although Trident submarines have a greater ability to stay at sea for prolonged missions, their longer range still make them safe and easier to deploy them closer.

The U.S.'s specific view of Sri Lanka has generally been distant. In any case the U.S. could see little reason to get involved in Sri Lankan affairs and to directly support any regime there. Certainly there is only litle U.S. economic aid and trade. Some military assistance was provided in 1971 and in the early 1980's, but the U.S. remained unconcerned about the events of Sri Lanka especially in 1971.

Until recently, Sri Lanka has bent over backwards to refute any allegation that any foreign power would obtain access to Trincomalee. India's deep concern about a major foreign base on its doorstep was undoubtedly the primary reason for Sri Lanka's caution. However, there are now signs that Sri Lanka's neutrality may be changing under pressure.

In 1983-84 President Jayewardene's Government had been openly seeking support to crush the Tamil separatist movement. In May 1984 the Sri Lanka government granted a lease on the oil storage complex at Trincomalee to a Bermuda-based company under the direction of an American representative. However, by 1985 the lease agreement collapsed. The U.S. Navy has been paying an increased number of so called 'goodwill' calls at Trincomalee in 1983-85. In addition, Israel's notorious Mossad has been brought in to train the Sri Lankan security forces. President Jayewardene was intensely worried about the possibility of an invasion during 1983, even though this option was never seriously considered in New Delhi.

It is very clear that the roots of unrest are related to domestic Sri Lankan politics. If there is a danger of outside intervention it would be more likely from India than from the Super-powers. It is very doubtful that, faced with a Sri Lankan call for support, Washington would risk deeply upsetting India, the most important regional power.

Take Your Pick: USA For Political Solution In Sri Lanka?

Dr. Swamy accompanied by prominent Sri Lankan Tamils in USA, met various American officials, Congressmen and Ambassadors to the United Nations of the USA, Pakistan and Israel, to explain the crisis facing Sri Lankan Tamils. After the meetings Dr. Swamy expressed satisfaction that all agreed that in a multi-lingual and multi-religious society, only a secular and federal constitution was workable.

He said that since the Indian Prime Minister had ruled out the "military leverage", the USA should use its political and economic leverage with Sri Lanka. He also added that the Hindustan Front, which he had recently formed in India, would assist the Sri Lankan Tamils to resist the "forces of genocide".

The United States has reiterated that she strongly supports a political solution to the problem of the Tamils in Sri Lanka and that a military solution was not possible.

An Indian opposition leader, Dr. Subramanya Swamy of the Lok Dal party, who recently had talks with Grant Smith, Director for South Asia at the State Department, was informed that USA had declined Sri Lankan government's repeated requests for forging military supply relationship between the two countries.

Dr. Swamy said that Mr. Smith had told him that US took note of the human rights violations in Sri Lanka and that these would be documented in the State Department's "Country Report on Human Rights" to be published shortly.

● The Eelam Tamil groups in Madras are dismayed by a powerful campaign to discredit them as no more than unruly elements out to disturb the peace in South India by indulging in theft, robbery and direct conflicts with the common people. Surprisingly, those who have been parading hitherto as supporters of their cause have withdrawn into a shell of silence.

Many Tamil groups suspect the hand of the US agencies including the CIA behind this campaign to discredit the Tamil groups to the advantage of President Jayewardene.

● President Jayewardene seems no more interested in India's mediatory role for a political settlement. He has virtually told Delhi that there is no need for the Indian Foreign Secretary, Romesh Bhandari, to come to Colombo for further discussions.

OPERATION SCUTTLE

JAYEWARDENE's game is to allow his American and Israeli friends to carry on with their game while he goes about imposing a military solution by terrrorising the Tamils, with the armed forces, into submission.

The campaign to discredit the Tamil groups started at the beginning of December, when the US Ambassador in New Delhi, John Gunther Deane, visited Madras and other Southern towns ostensibly on a visit to familiarise himself with the political situation in the south. It is well known that the US Ambassador, known as "Phoenix Deane", when he was Director of the Civil Operations and Rural Development Support in war-torn Vietnam, had had very close links with the CIA and American military intelligence.

According to Eelam Tamil groups, the strategy for discrediting the Tamil groups as plain bandits was evolved during Deane's visit to Madras. It is on the US State Department's directive that the agents of the US among the Tamil groups have been putting forward extreme demands and are engaged in a subtle campaign about the ineffectiveness of India.

The idea is to sabotage India's initiative for a political settlement in Sri Lanka by first presenting the Eelam groups as a threat to law and order in Tamil Nadu and secondly presenting India as impotent in preventing the massacre of Tamils in Sri Lanka. The implied suggestion is that Rajiv Gandhi should call it a day and withdraw from the scene.

The American strategy is to keep India and Sri Lanka in a state of tension so that it can gain a more firm foothold in Sri Lanka and consolidate Sri Lanka's position as an American aircraft carrier in the Indian Ocean.

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Guerilla leaders and refugees in South India

Bernard Soysa – General Secretary of the LSSP

I went to the Tamil Nad in December with two purposes. The first was to endeavour to meet the organisations of the militants who could be met in Madras. The second was to see something of the refugee problem. The LSSP had already visited the refugees, both Sinhala and Tamil in and around Kantalai, when Batty Weerakoon and Athauda Seneviratne saw for themselves the misery in which they lived. The problems relating to their return to their abandoned homes had also been discussed with these ill-fortuned people. The situation in regard to those who had fled the country having a different dimension, I went to South India to see them.

In making this journey I was not engaged in executing any mission of behalf of anybody. I had obtained the permission of the LSSP to go to Tamil Nad.

In Madras I met, separately, five organisations. They were the EPRLF, the EROS, the TELO, the LTTE and the PLOT. Wtih the time at my disposal I met each group only once. I shall try to set out here the principal topics discussed.

They asked questions regarding the alliance of the SLMP, the CP of SL and the LSSP; in particular, they wanted to know the chief objectives in relation to the problems of the Tamils, I answered the questions with special reference to the resolutions adopted and presented to the public on May Day, 1985. I stated that the resolutions called for the reversal of the policies that have led to jeopardising the unity and territorial integrity of Sri Lanka, and called for a political solution through negotiations with all concerned and in particular with the guerilla groups, instead of the pursuit of a military solution. The resolutions also sought to ensure a substantial devolution of central powers and functions to all areas of the country which will allow the peoples of these areas to manage their own affairs while cooperating with others on matters of common interest; to ensure effective guarantees that national, religious and other minorities in all areas of the country will have security and to end the problem of statelessness. A proper cease-fire was demanded.

The representatives of these fighting organisations reiterated their views regarding the recognition of the Tamils as a nationality, the recognition of the right of self-determination of the Tamils and the recognition of a defined area as theirs.

The LSSP

They then asked me specifically what the LSSP's thinking is on the problem. I said that the LSSP had stated its position both at the All Party Conference (APC) and outside. I mentioned the contribution of the LSSP generally and of Colvin R. de Silva at the APC. The Party adopted the resolutions put forward on May Day in conformity with its own fundamental position: The ending of imperialism and neo-colonialism, the recognition of the equal rights of all, irrespective of race, community, caste, creed or sex; recognition of the plurality of Sri Lankan society community-wise and in respect of religion and culture; the recognition that the various cultures and sub-cultures in the Island are the common heritage of the people of Sri Lanka; **the basic objective being the establishment of a socialist democracy based upon the principle of self-management. Self-management is conceived as ensuring the management of their affairs by the people.** While the LSSP seeks to ensure that the country advances towards the realisation of these aims through the action of the working-class and the toiling masses the Party would support such partial measures as are in conformity with its fundamental positions.

Those who were at the discussions said that they had no desire to fight the Sinhala people or any other community. They wanted to live in peace with all in the Island. **It was their earnest desire that the present struggle should not be converted into a "civil war between the Sinhalese and the Tamils."**

I said that the present course of events had led to an intensification of communal hatred on every side. I stated that the reiteration of the demand for a separate state of "Ealam" roused communal hatred among all others and principally among the Sinhala people.

They replied by saying that the fact that they went to Thimpu and participated in the discussions there, both formal and informal, and even more the fact that they had now consented to the TULF's formulating propositions and negotiating meant that the ENLF is prepared for a negotiated settlement. There were those who had some hope while there were also those who had no hope.

At some of the discussions there were young persons who spoke with much emotion. The discussions proceeded generally in a calm atmosphere and from the beginning to the end there was no acrimony.

The Refugees

The refugees present a sad grim picture. There are, of course, a few with affluence or with affluent links. But this is true of a relatively small number of persons. The refugees living in camps exceed a lakh of people. They are scattered in camps located all over the Tamil Nad. Some of the living quarters are like the better sort of estate lines in Sri Lanka. However most of them are like the shanties here while as to basic amenities either they are meagrely provided or they have almost none at all. They officially receive a small sum for sustenance which does not even barely suffice for the purpose at today's prices. Some charitable organisations visit these camps from time to time and distribute gifts of soap and children's requirements. The full-time occupation is devoted to "how to get a little bit more" of basic necessities. **Employment is well-nigh impossible and so is education of the young. Medical attention is a sickening problem. It is tragic to see the gradual deterioration of the quality of life and its effects on these people, both physically and on their outlook and attitudes.** With increasing deterioration of their conditions some will inevitably get lumpenised.

Those whom I met, however, are still making a brave effort to confront the problems they are faced with. In the search for answers to the problems that beset them they pepper the visitor with a rain of questions.

There are those who see no hope of a return to the status quo. Some of these persons do not expect to return to Sri Lanka. There are those who are not concerned about Ealam and would like to return. They say that all they want is amity. They desire peace with a sense of security. These people are of two opinions. One section, while wishing to return fears to do so and does not believe that security is possible today. The other section, despite their fears, want so much to return that they await acceptable guarantees of security.

In its entirety the problem is one that is sad, grim and frightening. It is a human problem that confronts the Government of Sri Lanka, the State of Tamil Nad and the Government of India. It is a problem of the people of Sri Lanka and we treat it with indifference only at our peril.

By courtesy of CHRISTIAN WORKER (January 1986

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"Now the Plantation Worker is Not Running" – Thondaman

STARTING on January 26, just a few days before the debate on the "Grant of Citizenship to the Stateless" bill in the Sri Lankan parliament, and perhaps originating from an everyday altercation between a Sinhala shop keeper and a Tamil customer during a temple festival at Talawakele, for ten explosive days pitched battles took place between the two communities in the Nuwara Eliya district.

Tamil plantation workers who had gathered at a hospital after the first incident at the temple festival, were dispersed by CWC officials and the police. Some of the Tamils returning to their "lines" were confronted by a gang of armed Sinhalese youth and a saffron-clad monk at Lindulla junction. The plantation workers fled only to return in greater numbers. From then on the violence quickened and spread to at least six towns and villages in the surrounding areas.

Tamil plantation workers gathered at hill tops and hurled rocks at passing vehicles of the security forces and felled trees to prevent the security forces from reaching Bogawantalawa. Sinhalese houses were attacked and looted. A police constable also died.

On the first day of February about 2000 Tamil plantation workers surrounded the Bogawantalawa police station where about 200 Sinhalese had sought refuge. They were dispersed by gun fire by the police. At Gaminipura on the outskirts of Hatton, an attack was mounted with knives, molotov cocktails and other weapons. The pipeline carrying water to Hatton town was damaged.

While the Tamils certainly had the upper hand, Sinhalese mobs too caused wanton destruction to Tamil shops and homes. The CWC office at Hatton was attacked on Independence Day night.

According to the report in the Sri Lankan newspaper, The Island, "The most worrying feature about this unprecedented and mindless violence is the organised manner in which the attacks were conducted. The Tamil estate workers for example attacked as if in response to an unspoken command. The mere show of a flag or a low whistle was sufficient to raise some 200 heads from behind tea bushes".

"It was abundantly clear that there had been, on the part of the Tamil estate workers, a concerted plan to defend themselves, if not to attack, and that it had been planned meticulously".

Some of the Sinhalese residents in the affected areas accused the CWC and their leader Mr. Thondaman. He, however, vehemently denied the charge.

"It has become a regular feature for the Tamils to be always at the receiving end of violence. The recent incidents in Nuwara Eliya district now show that the plantation workers are not going to take it lying down any more. They have decided to protect themselves and maintain their dignity", Mr. Thondaman asserted.

An uneasy calm now prevails in the picturesque and idyllic tea gardens of Nuwara Eliya. The long festering sore is yet to heal completely.

CHRISTIANS IN THE INDIAN SUB-CONTINENT

by Mr. M.M. Jacob
a member of the Indian Parliament
(recently elected Deputy Chairman of Rajya Sabha)

"Few people realise that Christianity came to India as early as the first century after Christ, long before Europe turned to it, and established a firm hold in South India" – Jawaharlal Nehru.

Many believe that Christianity is a Western religion and associate it with West European imperialism and colonialism. In fact Christianity is a religion born in the East and it came to India even before it reached many of the European countries. The Indian Church is as old as Christianity itself.

Today there are between fifteen and seventeen million Christians in India, about 2% of the population. About twelve million are Catholics.

Christianity came to India through St. Thomas, one of the apostles of Christ. According to tradition, St. Thomas came to the palace of King Gonduferas in Kutch in the year 52 AD. By the sanctity of his life and doctrine and the greatness of his miracles he aroused admiration and love for Jesus Christ.

From the North he went down to Kerala where he formed groups of Christians, built churches and left a congregation. The descendants of the early Christians in Kerala took pride in calling themselves "St. Thomas Christians". It is believed that St. Thomas who later moved from Kerala was martyred, in the year 72 AD, at a place now known as St. Thomas Mount in Madras.

The early Christians remained indigenous and followed Hindu customs. Ornamental umbrellas of the churches were sent for Hindu temple ceremonies and temple elephants were sent for church festivals. Even today this practice is in vogue at Kuravilangad church and Ettumanoor temple in Kerala.

The cordial relationship among Hindus and early Christians were symbols of unity and integrity. There was no occasion of any religious tension or cultural conflict but rather of cultural synthesis.

The message of Christ received a new thrust when St. Francis Xavier came to India in 1542. A university professor in Paris, he left his profession and along with Ignatius of Loyola started a new missionary order – the Jesuits.

St. Francis Xavier worked in Goa and Kerala for a few years before going to Japan. He returned to India in April 1552 and then went to China where he died. The undecayed holy body of the saint is now kept in the Bascilica of Born Jesus at Goa.

Christians have always been in the forefront of the social, economic and political life of the nation. Christians have also contributed in the fields of literature, art and culture. The contribution of Indian Christians to the cause of education is well recognised.

Smt Indira Gandhi once observed, "In the last couple of centuries Christian organisations in India have rendered invaluable service and this they have done with dedication and understanding. They have undertaken important programmes of social service and education".

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SRI LANKA: ITS FUTURE AND THE INTERNATIONAL RAMIFICATIONS

Prof. A. Jeyaratnam Wilson

(Abridged from the paper he presented at the Oxford Union Society Seminar on Sri Lanka on 22 February 1986)

The internal domestic problem in Sri Lanka provides the clues to its external relations. Since the massacres of Tamils in July 1983, the two ethnic groups have been permanently estranged. A new factor on the domestic scene is India.

The Sinhala leaders are not pleased with India's role. India sees it necessary that Sri Lanka makes sufficient concessions to the Tamil Resistance to deflect the latter from the demand for a separate state. To offset India, Sri Lanka has entered into daring diplomatic arrangements with states which India refuses to have diplomatic relations with, such as Israel and South Africa, as well as with states that are opposed to India's aspiring role as the recognised major power in the South Asian region.

The narrow ethno-nationalism of the Sinhala elites influences the conduct of foreign policy. The central problem to these eites is India which is regarded as the potential enemy in two respects. Firstly they say India could occupy Sri Lanka should Sri Lanka become vital to India's defence strategies. India took police action against Kashmir, Hyderabad and Goa. India could therefore do the same with Sri Lanka. To compound the issue there are the 52 million Tamil speaking people in neighbouring Tamil Nad. Their Tamil compatriots in Sri Lanka could, the Sinhala elites allege, be what the Sudetan Germans in Czechoslovakia were to Nazi Germany. The fact that Tamil Nad is part of the India federation is overlooked. Secondly Sri Lankan governments are irked by the fact that India will not permit Sri Lanka to pursue a foreign policy that is detrimental to the national self-interests of India. In effect India has successfully Finlandized Sri Lanka.

Britain Unlikely

However, Sri Lanka has room to manoeuvre in various directions within the loose strait jacket imposed on it by India. Thus in 1948, before Britain granted independence to Sri Lanka, a mutual defence agreement was negotiated and signed with Britain by the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka at the time, Don Stephen Senanayake. Naval and air bases were provided to Britain. In return Britain agreed to come to Sri Lanka's defence against an aggressor nation. The Prime Minister stated in public that the agreement was necessitated by his fear of the Soviets. In actual fact it was an insurance against a probable Indian police action. Should this happen, it is unlikely that Britain will fight a war against India on behalf of Sri Lanka. At most Britain will exert diplomatic pressure. In 1956 when Mr. S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike won a victory against the ruling United National Party, he persuaded Britain to return the bases to Sri Lanka. But the mutual defence agreement remained. It is this agreement that President Jayewardene stated he would invoke should Sri Lanka be attacked in the context of the prevailing ethnic crisis. The statement actually was intended to reassure Sinhala opinion. It had no other meaning.

Peking's Support?

Another Sri Lankan leader, in private conversation, mentioned that the People's Republic of China will come to Sri Lanka's assistance if Sri Lanka is invaded by India. The statement was made during the troubled years of ethnic conflict, 1960 to 1965, when Madam Bandaranaike was Prime Minister. That possibility was presumably thought of when President Jayewardene's brother, Mr. Hector Jayewardene Q.C. visited Peking as well as Tokyo and the capitals of the ASEAN countries in the fall of 1983 (interview by H.W. Jayewardene to *Lanka Guardian*, see issue of 15 October 1983). The President himself visited Peking in 1984. The position of the People's Republic on the ethnic conflict is that it will not countenance any external interference in the internal affairs of Sri Lanka. That position was further buttressed by Peking's assertion that it stood for a united Sri Lanka and was opposed to the Tamil demand for a separate state. But then, this is the same position taken by India. Nevertheless Peking's support can only be regarded as a reassurance to Sinhala opinion. Whether Peking will involve itself militarily is another question. Peking did not interfere when Bangladesh was created despite its pact with Pakistan.

Delhi in Check

In effect Sri Lanka's President Jayewardene has devised a policy that attempts to keep New Delhi in check. The visit to the ASEAN states by the President's brother was not, as his brother stated in an interview to the press, merely intended to explain the ethnic crisis and the implications of the Tamil demand for a separate state. The intention was probably to raise support should Sri Lanka become an issue at the U.N. General Assembly. More importantly, Peking's support will be necessary in the United Nations Security Council. It is likely that Peking will use its vote on behalf of Sri Lanka at the Security Council. But then the Soviet Union has its Friendship Pact of 1971 with India.

Americans, Israelis & South Africans

President Jayewardene also visited President Reagan and Mrs. Thatcher in the summer of 1984. No accords were formally signed. But some spin-offs may have flowed from the visit. Shortly after the Reagan visit, the Israeli secret service agency, Mossad, began operations in Sri Lanka especially in training Sinhala army men in warfare and intelligence. An Israeli interests section, as it came to be called, was established within the precincts of the U.S. embassy in Colombo. The arrangement has had adverse repercussions for the government.

The presence of Israelis in Colombo has angered the local Muslim population who number 7 per cent of the population. It has alienated the Saudis who have declined to provide the promised 50 million dollars in aid for the Mahaveli irrigation project. There is an unwillingness now in Middle East states to employ the large numbers of Sri Lankans they used to employ. This means a drying up of foreign exchange from a source that was Sri Lanka's second most important foreign exchange earner. Thus a turnaround of policy has brought Sri Lanka economic suffering and alienation because of the opposition of the Islamic states to the Israeli presence. A possible further consequence of the Reagan visit is the arrangement with the Republic of South Africa for the supply of weaponry. The deal could possibly have been effected by the proxy state of Israel. South African weapons are now being used against Tamil freedom fighters.

The inference from the U.S. arrangement for proxy states to do their work for them is that the United States has also stood to gain. One thousand acres in an area a little north of Colombo has been leased out to the powerful Voice of America. It is alleged that low frequency transmitters from the VOA station can broadcast messages to U.S. nuclear submarines in the North Indian Ocean without these submarines having to surface in the ocean. It is also significant that the U.S. aircraft carrier, Kittyhawk, with 5400 men and its 4-acre airfield atop visited Colombo harbour a few months ago. There are also various Western companies operating in and around Trincomalee which has Sri Lanka's great natural harbour. Henry Kissinger in an

continued opposite

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JAFFNA CENTRAL AND VEMBADI CANNOT BE SHIFTED

Jaffna Central College is 150 years old. It is improper to shift such an old institution because of the declaration of a "security zone" by the government, said Mr. S. Rajaratnam, Deputy Principal, addressing the Jaffna Citizens' Committee meeting at Jaffna YMCA Hall recently. The meeting was organised to protest against the government's imposition of a "security zone" round the Jaffna fort, where the army barracks have recently been established. Mr. P. Ariyanayagam chaired the meeting.

Mrs. E. Balasundaram, Vice Principal of Vembadi Girls School said that it was not possible to shift her College anywhere. Laboratory and boarding facilities are not available anywhere else nor can they be rapidly established elsewhere, she said.

Mr. S. Vijayanathan, trade unionist, Mr. M.K. Ganesasunderam, Manager of Peoples' Bank, Mr. S. Rajah, Station Master, Jaffna Railway Station and Dr. J Pasupathy addressed the meeting.

According to the Government, "the 1000 metre security zone had been declared in the interests of the people living and working within this zone. Any exchange of mortar fire between the security forces and *terrorists* will no doubt lead to many civilian casualties. However with the declaration of the security zone the *terrorists* are now compelled to take serious note of the repercussions and also they will now be answerable to the Jaffna public if they start firing mortars and if mortar fire is returned by the security forces".

"The second reason for the declaration of the zone is to maintain law and order in Jaffna. No one doubts that if there is no *terrorist* activity, then there is no need for security zones. In the absence of *terrorist* violence, the citizens could go about their normal business without any fear".

"The military meanwhile will carry out normal security duties that are common to any security force anywhere during peace time", the government communique concluded.

Sri Lanka's Future

continued from page 10

exchange three years ago was asked: How do you *not* publicize a military base, for example. He answered: "by not establishing it 'adding' I think that what we need is installations into which we could move rapidly; a physical presence near the Gulf that is plausible and a demonstration of how we could reinforce this presence" (*Times Literary Supplement*, 13 December 1985, p. 1418). The Kittyhawk's visit to Colombo harbour and the obvious usefulness of Trincomalee harbour should be noted in the context of Dr. Kissinger's remarks.

The meeting with Mrs. Thatcher bore no results on the question of military aid or invocation of the dormant Anglo-Sri Lanka mutual defence agreement of 1948, if these were discussed at all. There is the question whether the defence agreement can be invoked with much success given Mrs. Thatcher's close personal links with India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. To cap it all, the late Esmond Wickremasinghe went on a mission to Moscow.

Personal Diplomacy

President Jayewardene relies on personal diplomacy to achieve his objectives judging from all we have stated. He also met with Prime Minister Shimon Peres of Israel a few months ago. The prime ministership of Israel will however change hands in a few more months and we do not know whether Mr. Peres's successor, Mr. Shamir, will follow the same policies.

Furthermore all these visits were undertaken by President Jayewardene himself only. None of the powers concerned had any idea as to who were his other senior ministers and who were his specially important foreign office officials responsible for implementing understandings mutually agreed to. There were no joint statements issued by Sri Lanka and each of the states concerned. It is possible that a few under-the-counter deals took place but these are of no international consequence. What is significant is that the U.S. State Department has hedged its bets. The Department is aware that the situation in Sri Lanka is fluid and unstable. Some of their officials therefore keep in touch with Tamil organizations just in case Eelam materialises.

President Jayewardene has tried to organise a diplomatic encirclement of India, again by personal diplomacy. He visited President Zia of Pakistan who visited Sri Lanka in return recently. President Zia promised military training and weapons. President Jayewardene also visited Bangladesh and had talks with President Ershad of that country. However political observers are of the view that both Presidents Zia and Ershad are ripe for falling and that a coup is being organised to bring down the Bangladeshi dictator.

The objective of the entire exercise is to pass on the message to New Delhi that India is encircled as a result of the personal diplomacy of President Jayewardene and his brother Mr. Hector Jayewardene. How tenuous this diplomacy is, I have explained in what I have already stated.

What the Sri Lankan Government fails to realise is that Washington, London and Moscow have delegated New Delhi with the responsibility of handling Sri Lanka's ethnic crisis. The personal diplomacies of the Sri Lankan government to attempt to encircle India with the assistance of Pakistan, Bangladesh and the People's Republic of China are therefore devoid of much significance. The strategic factor is New Delhi. And New Delhi has learned that it cannot place any reliance on the assurances of the Sri Lanka Government. It is not merely a question of time running out. Patience on the part of New Delhi is at its tether's end. There are several alternative compromises that the Sri Lankan government can offer to end the deadlock. There are several fallback positions available to both sides to negotiate a peace with honour to both sides. But as long as the government of Sri Lanka remains obdurate or calculates that it can reach a solution by sleight of hand, the whole peace process is doomed to failure. And so is the state of Sri Lanka notwithstanding the exaggerated and intemperate statements made by its leaders to the Western media.

A Way Out?

In conclusion it might be said that a peaceful settlement is possible. The Sinhala elites need to convince themselves that the Tamil-speaking peoples are serious in their demand for self rule. The Tamil Resistance insists that they must have a contiguous Tamil homeland in the north and east of Sri Lanka. This seems logical given the fact that the Northern Province with its Tamil-speaking majority is immediately adjacent and contiguous to the majority Tamil speaking Eastern Province. We cannot also ignore the fact that the Tamils claim that their present humiliations leave them with no alternative. There is a growing attitude among the Sinhala elites that the Tamils are a hindrance to their progress. Should this feeling harden, I believe there is a way out. It could be on the lines of the Srima-Shastri Pact of 1964. This pact was implemented peacefully. A similar pact could be negotiated between the Sinhala and Tamil Leaderships. The Tamils in their entirety in the South could be withdrawn to the Tamil homeland and during a phased 15-year period. At the end of it, the Sinhala elites will have no Tamil to compete with or any Tamil whom they can identify as a scapegoat for the ills of their body politic. That would be one sure way of minimizing racial friction.

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"I DO NOT SEE ANY POSSIBILITY . . ."

says M. SIVASITHAMPARAM, President, T.U.L.F., in an exclusive interview with our Editor.

He is presently in the U.K. where he spoke at the Oxford Union Seminar on "Sri Lanka: An Island in Turmoil" on February 22.

Q. *Do you see any possibility of a settlement of the issues in dispute in the foreseeable future?*

A. I do not see any possibility of a settlement acceptable to the Tamil people, or what can be considered reasonable by well known international standards, in the foreseeable future. I do not see any signs of a genuine willingness on the part of the government, or of Sinhala leadership, to meet, even halfway, the aspirations of the Tamil people. One must recognise a fundamental difference in our evaluation of the Tamil problem and that of the government. The government grudgingly concedes that the Tamils have some grievances and that they can be redressed in some small way. To us, the problem is one of exercising power. The grievances are only symptoms of the disease – the disease being the refusal by Sinhala leadership to recognise our status as a nation and our right to exercise power, legitimately due to a nation.

Q. *Will the prospects for a settlement be any better under a different Sinhala leader, or a leadership belonging to a different party from that of the present.*

A. No. To think that a change of Sinhala leadership will improve the prospects of a settlement is like hoping that a change of pillows will cure one's headache. Our bitter and sad experience of the past has convinced us that the two major political parties of the Sinhalese have a remarkable common thinking on our problem.

Q. *Do you discern any similarities between the Marcos regime in the Philippines and the present regime in Sri Lanka? Do you think the Americans now look upon Mrs. Bandaranaike as the alternative in the same way they look on Mrs. Aquino as the alternative to the Marcos government?*

A. All authoritarian governments have many things in common. Ex-President Marcos and President Jayewardene, therefore, have many traits in common. Mrs. Bandaranaike will try to continue to project an anti-American, pro-non-aligned image and therefore remain unacceptable to America.

M. SIVASITHAMPARAM
Elected to Parliament four times – March 1961, July 1961, July 1965 and July 1977.
In July 1977 he was elected M.P. for Nallur by a majority of 26,000 votes, the biggest in a single member constituency in Sri Lanka. He conducted the defence in many political trials – Duraiappah Murder, Avro Aircraft, Sgt. Sivanesan Murder, etc.
In 1983, along with all the other T.U.L.F. M.P's, Mr. Sivasithamparam was debarred from Parliament under the Sixth Amendment to the Constitution.

Q. *Why is the J.R. Government permitting foreigners to intervene in Sri Lanka's internal affairs – e.g. a) the former U.S. Ambassador, W. Howard Wriggins, wrote to President Jayewardene objecting to the referendum to extend Parliament, drawing a parallel between the referendum and Germany under the Weimar Constitution before the advent of the Nazis. b) Howard Wriggins is known to have rightly expressed strong disapproval of the disfranchisement of Mrs. Bandaranaike. c) The Peoples Republic of China has declared that it is opposed to the division of Sri Lanka on the score that the Soviets might obtain a base in Sri Lanka, which is an open challenge to one of the Super-Powers, in the process using Sri Lanka as a testing ground.*

A. These instances you have given are not real interventions. Re a) and b), President Jayewardene likes to glow in the reputation that he is a "true democrat and welcomes criticism". As long as these expressions of opinion do not affect him adversely and do not make him change his decisions, he has no objections to anyone deluding himself that President Jayewardene is a good democrat.

Re c) the expression of China's opinion suits him for many reasons:
1. This will show India that Sri Lanka has China on her side.
2. It strengthens his anti-Sovietism.
3. Removes the widespread belief among Sinhalese that only Mrs. Bandaranaike can get China on her side.

Q. *Why was President Jayewardene appreciative of Pakistan, Britain, U.S.A. and Israel, but had not a word to say about India's admirable role in the peace process?*

A. This clearly confirms that Sinhala leadership has always been anti-Indian. Throughout history, Sinhala leadership has, in practice, taken an anti-Indian stance, although they pay lip service to the ties of friendship with India. In recent history, Sinhala leadership has sided India's enemies during India's times of danger. Sinhala leadershp has always resented India's indisputable role of leadership in this region. To the jaundiced eyes of Sinhala leadership, India is pro-Tamil and therefore anti-Sinhala. India's role in the ethnic crisis after 1983 has been to facilitate a negotiated political settlement, acceptable to all concerned and capable of creating a political climate when the Tamil refugees could go back to the island with 'honour, dignity and safety'. Sinhala leadership does not want a political settlement; it wants a military victory. India has refused to go along with Sinhala leadership in this military exercise. Therefore President Jayewardene thanks those who have helped him in this militaristic adventure.

Q. *To get back to the Tamil settlement, will any Sri Lanka government honour any arrangement it arrives at even though India might guarantee the settlement?*

A. If any settlement acceptable to the Tamils comes about, it will be because of international pressure and Sinhala leadership will agree reluctantly. Therefore, Sinhala leadership will drag their feet to honour any such agreement.
In the past too, successive Sinhala governments, faced with crisis

continued opposite

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LETTER FROM A TAMIL MOTHER TO A SINHALESE FATHER

Dear Sir,

It is reported in the Daily News of 24.1.86 (page 10) about the pathetic death of your beloved son, Jegath Perera, at the prime age of 24. Please accept our heartfelt condolences. My son, Kumar, who was a contemporary of his at the Moratuwa Campus, speaks very highly of your son as one with a broad outlook on life, with no hatred towards the Tamils and communalism was completely foreign to him. It is not understood why your son, who is a fully qualified engineer, had joined the Forces who are fighting a *losing battle*. If the situation is so grave, Ravi Jayewardene or Niranjan Wijeratna or Premadasa's son or Gamini's son or Lalith's daughter should have joined the Forces, as was done by Prince Andrew, the second son of Queen Elizabeth, in the Falkland War. In this context, it is not irrelevant to quote a para from the Saturday Review of 25.1.86 (page 8). "I also admire the Sinhalese soldiers who, far from their kith and kin, are attempting to tackle a situation which they do not *understand*. Poor chaps. For want of a job they are forced to carry arms and rain death, mostly on innocent people".

Your son could have contributed a lot to Mother Lanka by joining the Development Projects, especially at a time when the economy is at its lowest. It is generally said that Sri Lanka occupies the last place among the poorest countries. Please sincerely tell me whether you can manage to live on your meagre pension?

You now know what is really taking place in our country. There are several parents like you who have lost their most beloved children for nothing. The parents of the soldiers who are still alive and stationed in the North and East Sri Lanka are anxious that the present dispute between the *Tamil militants* and the Government should be over at the earliest, so that their children can safely return home.

You were a Police Officer who had done yeoman service to the country. During your career you would have worked in Tamil areas or worked with Tamil oficers. What is your candid opinion of the *Tamil people*? The Tamils were never against the Sinhalese language, culture, civilisation or religion. In the past the Tamil leaders had fought for the Sinhalese cause. The Tamils are entitled to retain their identity, the integrity of their homelands and the distinctive nature of their culture. They are not asking for additional rights over the Sinhalese. In short, the Tamils do not want to be second class citizens in the country of their birth.

Are the Sinhalese in the South aware of the plight of the Tamils? The Sinhalese politicians tell them only one side of the story. The late Wilmot Perera tried to put this right but failed dismally because of narrow-minded politicians. Today Gamini Navaratne in Jaffna is continuing the noble work. He is a full-fledged *Buddhist Sinhalese* living among the Tamils. He is the Editor of the Saturday Review, the only English paper published in Jaffna. The present problem facing the Tamils should have been solved in 1958 by S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike who had the capacity to tackle problems of this nature. Not only was he not allowed a free hand, but he was also assassinated by his own people. Again in 1977, after the general election, with the help of Srimavo and Amirthalingam, the problem could have been solved. Instead the Sinhala leaders lost valuable time preaching DEVELOPMENT and practising DESTRUCTION. As the late Indira Gandhi said, they never cared for the future of the country. While our neighbouring countries are solving their outstanding problems and progressing we are marching backwards.

Before I conclude, may I ask you (1) What happened to Bhutto of Pakistan? The very same person whom he elevated rewarded him with death. (2) How was Bangladesh born? Because the rights of a section of the people were denied. (3) What is taking place in Uganda and South Yemen? The rebels have captured power. It will not be very long, not the Tamils but the Sinhalese masses will expose the weaknesses of the present regime. Then you and your wife will know who was responsible for the death of your *loving* son. MAY YOUR SON REST IN PEACE.

Yours sincerely (Mrs) B. Zavier *Jaffna – 28th January 1986*

situations, have agreed to concede Tamil demands. But, once the crisis passed, all Sinhala governments have found one excuse or another, to refuse to honour such agreements. Mrs. Bandaranaike did so, faced with the mass Tamil upsurge. The S.L.F.P. leadership did so in order to defeat U.N.P. government in March 1961. Mr. Dudley Senanayake and Mr. J. R. Jayewardene did so to form a government in 1965. The relationship between the Sinhalese and Tamils has been bedevilled by these broken pacts and promises. There is only one new factor that might help and that is India's continued interest in the implementation of any political settlement, brought about by her good offices. Ultimately, of course, **the success or otherwise of any settlement will depend on our own unity and strength.**

Q. *Do you see any alternative to the Tamils other than for all of them to withdraw to a Tamil linguistic State rather than have them in the South, as hostages to the Sinhalese?*

A. There can be no doubt that Tamils can live and work only in a Tamil linguistic state. For a short time, it might be necessary to continue a minimal presence of males only in places like Colombo. In the case of plantation workers there has to be a phased withdrawal. All the unemployed young men must withdraw first. Similarly old men and women must withdraw. **The objective must be to move them all into the North and East over a period of time.**

Q. *Do you see anything significant in the proposal to grant citizenship to 94,000 Indians? Is this only a ploy? Will it take another 20-25 years to dispose of applicants for citizenship?*

A. President Jayewardene had promised to give these people their citizenship as early as 1981. There was consensus among all participants that they should be given citizenship. The motive for this apparent fairness was spelt out by one of the Mahanayake Theros (Buddhist High Priests). It was stated that by granting this citizenship India's legitimate right to interfere in Sri Lanka's problems will be removed. This hope is shared by all in the government too. If their hope of India ceasing to be concerned with Sri Lanka's ethnic problem does not materialise, then, of course, these unfortunate people must wait for many years to get their citizenship.

Q. *Why have you not tried to harvest support from the Islamic States after Mossad's intervention in Sri Lankan affairs?*

A. We have done our best in this direction too. We were quick to expose all contacts between Israel and Sri Lanka, as for instance, we disclosed President Jayewardene's secret meeting with Prime Minister Peres. There have been some other repercussions, like Saudia Arabia withdrawing its offer of aid. But there is a lot more to be done – the T.U.L.F. alone cannot be expected to undertake all these multifarious tasks. An umbrella organisation with units in different countries must be set up urgently. **Today, our energies and resources are not being maximised because of several organisations being engaged in the same tasks.**

Q. *Why has the T.U.L.F. not established a stronger presence abroad, especially in London and in New York, on the lines of the A.N.C., P.L.O. and several other oppressed groups fighting for their just rights?*

A. The T.U.L.F. has many constraints – personnel, financial. Unfortunately, our friends abroad did not feel that the T.U.L.F. had a role to play. Now the situation is changing and the T.U.L.F. will play its part, not in competition with others, but in co-operation with all.

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ACADEMIC TRAILS

Harvard Professor's Book On The 'Dismantling of Democracy in Sir Lanka'

Dr. Stanley J. Tambiah, currently Professor of Anthropology, Harvard University, formerly Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and also Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago, will have his book **Ethnic Fratricide; the Dismantling of Democracy in Sri Lanka** published by the University of Chicago Press. The Professor is of the view that the democratic process in Sri Lanka has been totally derailed.

Harvard Seminar on Sri Lanka

A Seminar on Sri Lanka which will provide opportunities for Sinhalese and Tamils of Sri Lanka to air their views will be held in April under the directorship of Dr. James Manor and Dr. Subramaniam Swamy, visiting Professor of Economics at Harvard. The Seminar is being called by the eminent Harvard Professor of Political Science, Samuel Huntington. Dr. Howard Wriggins, former U.S. Ambassador to Sri Lanka and presently Professor of Strategic Studies at Columbia University in the City of New York is also expected to participate. As is well known, Dr. Wriggins is co-author with Professor K.M. de Silva of a biography of President J.R. Jayewardene.

Professor K.M. de Silva writes another book!

Professor K.M. de Silva who used to write, as best as possible, detached histories on various aspects of Sri Lanka, as he perceived them, has, we understand, completed a book on "The Management of Ethnic Conflict in Sri Lanka". We are not certain whether "Management of Ethnic Conflict" means the large scale killings of innocent Tamil civilians that goes on in the North and East of Sri Lanka today! We understand that Dr. de Silva is presently an ideologue for the current murderous thinking of the Nazi-type Ministers in the Jayewardene Government in addition to being an apologist. We are told that he had failed in his attempts to mobilise Professor W.H. Morris Jones, who recently retired as Professor of Commonwealth Affairs in the University of London, to talk in Colombo on the ethnic problem with possibly a pro-Sinhala slant. Anyone reading Professor Morris Jones' speech will realise that he kept off the subject of Sri Lanka, scholar that he is. Having failed in this attempt to lure Professor Morris Jones into the mud of Sri Lankan Sinhala politics, Professor de Silva shortly afterwards organised a Seminar in Kandy under the auspices of the Institute of which he is a director, which bears the shameful title "Institute of Ethnic Studies", in holocaust ridden Sri Lankan of all places. At this Seminar he got his "academic side-kick", Professor Gerald Peiris, to deliver a Goebbels-style lebensraum (living space) talk on the eastern province not being a part of the homeland of the Tamils. Professor Peiris was at one time defended free of charge by the late M. Tiruchelvan, Q.C. when the Walter Wimalachandra Commission of Inquiry on University Affairs gave him trouble.

Academic Twins?

Dr. K.M. de Silva mobilises Professor W. Howard Wriggins

Professor Howard Wriggins, who is from time to time consulted by the U.S. State Department, and who is constantly opposed to the creation of a single linguistic unit for the Tamil people in Sri Lanka, now accompanies Professor K.M. de Silva, who is playing the role of a political Anagarika Dharmapala (possibly a reincarnation!), appears at public meetings (with Professor W. Howard Wriggins) in order that he (Professor K.M. de Silva) may buttress his Sinhala racist views. Readers wishing to know something about the same phase of Professor de Silva's career are kindly requested to read his contribution to 'Human Rights in the World', the Sri Lankan section, published by Martinus Nijhoff.

DR POPE – A Student Of Tamil

GEORGE UGLOW POPE was the Son of a Scottish merchant named John Pope trading with Nova Scotia. He was born on April 24th 1820. While still a lad, he attended a missionary meeting in Oldham Street where a clergyman who was going out as a missionary spoke about his intention of going to Madras to labour among the Tamils. Somehow this caught the fancy of this youthful listener who determined to offer himself as a missionary to the Tamilians when he would be of age. He started learning Tamil forthwith. His acquaintance with Tamil began when he was seventeen and in his preface to his translation of Thiruvasagam he says *"I date this on my eighteenth birthday. I find by reference that my first Tamil lesson was in 1837. This ends, as I suppose, a long life devoted to Tamil studies. It is not without deep emotions that I thus bring to a close my life's literary work"*. Such was his love for his adopted language.

The fame and scholarship of this talented translator are well known in the Tamil land and in England. From the very early age of 17, when Dr. Pope had his first lesson in Tamil, Tamil had him in its grip, irretrievably firm. The heart melting lyrics of the ancient classics, the doctrine of the divine grace magnificently developed in Tamil philosophy and the soul stirring hymns of the Saint Manikkavaskar had stolen his heart away and taken him a captive for all his life. Dr. Pope has realised that philosophical thought had permeated the ancient Tamil literature. Unless the systems of philosophy which prevailed in the land are mastered, one could not understand that literature correctly or be faithful to this original in his translations. How much patience, the great scholar would have had, to master them all. What a perfect and thorough method of work he had adopted.

His zeal for Tamil can be gathered from the following words from his preface to his English translation of Tiruvasagam:

"The speech of a dying people may, perhaps, be allowed to die. But this cannot be said of the Tamil race. Heaven forbid! . . . Let the Tamilians cease to be ashamed of their vernacular".

He used to say that to seek for and find a "Noble Language" and to dedicate one's life to the study of it is the best life-work a man could wish for. With this in mind he sought the best Tamil scholars of the day, and gathered an amount of knowledge of Tamil which was of immense use to him in his retirement when he compiled most of his works.

These include among others English Translations of:

1) Thirukkural

2) Naladiyar

3) Thiruvasagam

4) Pura Porul Venba-Malai

5) Purananura (some poems)

I would like to reproduce his translation for the famous Purananura Poem of the sages by *Kanyan or 'Singer' of the flowery hill, who was a Court Poet and friend of Ko-Perum C'olan of Uraiyur.* It may be, before the date of Kurual.

This was sent by Dr. Pope with his translation on a New Year's Greeting to all his friends in January 1906.

THE SAGES

To us all towns are one, all men our kin
Life's good comes not from others gift, nor ill
Man's pains and pain's relief are from within.
Death's no new thing; nor do our bosoms thrill
when joyous life seems like a luscious draught
when grieved, we patiently suffer; for we deem
This much-praised life of ours a fragile raft
Borne down the waters of some mountain stream
That o'er huge boulders roaring seeks the plain
Tho' storms with lightnings flash from darken'd skies
Descend, the raft goes on as fates ordain
Thus have we seen in visions of the wise?
We marvel not at greatness of the great
Still less despise we men of low estate.

Dr. G.U. Pope was honoured by the Oxford University and other societies in England for his Tamil learning. "He was saintly in his character and life, and as one old pandit put, if he was born in the old days, he would have been catalogued with 63 Saints". *His services to the Saivite Religion and Siddhanta Philosophy are incalculable.*

M. Thanapalan

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MOTHER TONGUE LEARNING

"The Tamil Saturday Schools have a distinct self-assurance and maturity. The thrust of this conference typifies this fact and will lead to an ever increasing professionalism", said Dr. J.G. Walshe, MA, PhD, opening the full-day conference on mother tongue learning, held at Acton town hall, London on 22 February 1986.

This particular conference concentrated on the problems of Tamil immigrant and expatriate children and the difficulties they experienced in learning Tamil. The conference was funded by the Greater London Council and was sponsored by the West London Tamil School. Eleven other Tamil schools participated. All these schools were set up by voluntary organizations and conduct classes mostly during week-ends.

Presiding over the discussions, Dr Walshe said, "The instinctive first response of migrant communities to safeguard their culture, values and perhaps political affiliation, is rarely an outgoing phenomenon; it has more to do with self-preservation against the erosions of diaspora and inevitably manifests chauvinistic characteristics. Stage two is much more interesting. As toeholds are gained in the new society there is psychological space for cultural pride and the defensive possibility of cultural ossification gives way to development; a kind of renaissance".

"Mother tongue taught in the rich setting of parent culture is special. There is hope that with serious effort a philosophy and practice could be developed that would enable the children of Great Britain to be educated towards the true acceptance of interdependence and an appreciation of linguistic and cultural pluralistic excellence as enriching a social maturity".

"As a bilingualist through birth and political circumstances and a bearer of happy memories of Tamil Nadu, I am honoured to chair this conference and wish all the participants a happy and productive outcome".

Other speakers included Mrs. Ann Dummett, Director of Runnymede Trust, who spoke on "Major issues raised by the Swann Report", Mr. Safdar Alladina on "Mother tongue teaching or marginalisation", T.S. Krishnan on "The Antiquity of Tamil", Dr. A.S. Sittampalam on "Job opportunities for UKs ethnic minorities in the 1990's" and Mrs. Pushkala Gopal, Art Director of the Indian Academy of Dancing, on "The performing arts and cultural traditions of India".

J.G. Walshe M.A. DipRe. PhD.

A resolution proposed by Dr. R. Niththyanananthan, Headmaster, WLTS, and seconded by Mr. Kurban Singh, President of the International Supreme Council of Sikhs was unanimously adopted by the conference. It affirmed that "This conference resolves to commit itself to a concept of multicultural education that includes facilities for mother tongue learning. It commits itself to use all appropriate means to achieve this objective. Meanwhile it agrees that every effort should be made to ensure the implementation of the Swann Report recommendations such as provision of free school accommodation, teaching materials and teacher support".

The conference stressed the need for graded learning of the language and standardised assessments at intermediate stages. At present, though Tamil could be offered as a subject for the O-Level examination, there is no way of the student knowing whether he or she has attained that proficiency. It was felt that in this respect, standardised intermediate assessments would provide the student with the necessary feedback.

At the Morning Session

Mr. S. Balakrishnan, B.D.S.

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LETTERS

MUSLIMS AND THE LINGUISTIC STATES

The Muslims in Sri Lanka consider themselves to be a distinct community by virtue of religion, way of life and culture. This fact must be borne in mind when linguistic states (autonomous Tamil and Sinhala regions) come into existence in Sri Lanka.

The separate identity of the Muslims of Sri Lanka was recognised during colonial times and since independence as well. This recognition was institutionalised by the provision of reserved seats in the advisory councils of the earlier colonial times and in the Legislative and State Councils of the later British colonial period. In independent Ceylon, they had reserved seats in the Senate and there were appointed Muslim members in the Lower House. Thus there always had been a recognition of the separate identity of the Muslims.

In as much as the Tamils have had to struggle for justice and equality, they must recognise the same aspirations in the Muslim community. To this end the political and administrative structures in the envisaged autonomous regions must be well worked out and clearly stated, to prevent the development of any mistrust among the Muslims who obviously will be split between the two autonomous regions.

It is most important that the Muslims who are included in the Tamil Autonomous Region feel reassured about the facilities to manage their own affairs and about the just sharing of resources.

The Tamil Autonomous Region shall be secular. There cannot be any compromise on this concept. A secular administration does not profess a single religion as official nor does it give precedence in any way to any one religion. All religious practices are facilitated impartially so that there is freedom of religious practice, without obstruction or restraint by any group or groups. A secular administration does not give precedence or weightage to religion for employment, educational facilities or any public office or political activity.

To reassure the Muslim community, there should be unambiguous, definitive statements about the political structures that will be created and made available to the Muslim community to facilitate their managing their own affairs in areas where they predominate; and grant them appropriate proportional representation in the Regional Council.

The details and the structural as well as organisational aspects will need further discussion, with concessions on the part of all parties involved to arrive at a consensus view about the legislative, administrative and executive framework. No compromise, however, should be made on the fundamental principles to which the Muslim community is entitled, to live as equals with the other two major communities.

R.S. Nathan
London

As you may know, the British Refugee Council is an independent, voluntary organisation, offering advice and assistance to refugees in such areas as Social Security benefits, accommodation and education.

The B.R.C's Asia team has been in contact with many Tamil refugees who arrived in the U.K. during April and May last year, as well as earlier. We know that many others have also been receiving advice and support from individuals in the Tamil community, as well as from Tamil organisations and other agencies. However, we are concerned that there may still be people who arrived this year and are staying with friends or relatives, or on their own, who are ignorant of, for example, their rights to claim Social Security benefits, or who need advice on finding accommodation, or sorting out some other problem.

I am working for the British Refugee Council as a Tamil-speaking outreach caseworker, to try and make contact with Tamil refugees who would like some advice and who are not at the moment getting such assistance. I am anxious that this service be made as widely known as possible amongst the Tamil community, so that people know how to contact me should they wish to do so. They can contact me here at the British Refugee Council on 01-582-6922, but I would also be happy to visit particular areas to talk to individuals or groups.

I would be grateful if you could publicize this as widely as possible.

Bondway House,
3/9 Bondway,
London, SW8 1SJ

Paul Sathianesan
Outreach Caseworker,
British Refugee Council

28th February 1986

Christian Science Monitor

In an editorial dated 27 January, it states "... part of the problem is one of perception. Each Sri Lankan side believes the other has unfair economic and professional advantages, or has had in the past – much akin to the controversy in the United States over affirmative action ... Moderate Tamils believe that the talks with the Sinhalese-controlled Government have irrevocably broken down, that India has used up its leverage, and that the United States could play a pivotal role if it pressured the Sri Lankan Government to make concessions. Specifically, these Tamils want the Government to agree to a pluralistic and federal form of Government which would enable Tamils to play a role in regional governments, roughly proportional to their population in each area ... The U.S. is keenly aware of Indian sensitivity to the appearance that any other large nation, especially the U.S., is trying to exert political influence in the Indian Sub-Continent. New Delhi long has considered that it should be the dominant power in its area ... Washington should strongly support Indian efforts and it should refrain from an active role in the process at this time."

APPRECIATION

P. GANESHALINGAM

The All-Ceylon Tamil Congress mourns with the Tamil Nation the death of Mr. P. Ganeshalingam, ex. M.P. for Paddiruppu.

In his personal life, Mr. Ganeshalingam was a sincere and true friend.

In politics, Mr. Ganeshalingam was an honest and fearless fighter. His love for the youth of his community was such that he opposed the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Law whole-heartedly. His opposition to that law was so honest that when the party to which he belonged made the official decision in August 1982, calling upon the Tamil Nation to boycott the Presidential Elections and also not to vote for the only Tamil candidate, he openly opposed that decision because he was convinced that that decision of his party would only go to help the victory of the makers of the prevention of Terrorism Act and who vowed to wipe out terrorism in six months, which decision according to his conscience, was a betrayal of the youths of his community whom he loved so much.

Mr. Ganeshalingam's demise at this time is not only a great blow to his young family but also to his larger family, the Tamil Nation, at the most crucial time in its history.

V.C. Motilal Nehru, Vice-President,
All Ceylon Tamil Congress.

DIVISIVE 'PATRIOTISM'

Sri Lanka is composed of two communities, the Sinhalese and the Tamils, and the continued existence of a united Sri Lanka depends upon a harmonious relationship between these communities, a relationship which suffered because of the unfortunate events of recent years. However, there are things besides such events which discourage the development of the harmony.

I must relate an unpleasant incident that occurred on the occasion of Sri Lanka's national day on February 4. On that day the Sri Lankan flag was hoisted on one of the compounds of a large company here employing more than 2,000 Sri Lankan workers. For the hoisting of the flag the management nominated a staff member who joined the company some eight years ago and who is its oldest Sri Lankan employee. He gladly accepted the honour. He is a Tamil, but he is not a supporter of the Tamil liberation movements in Sri Lanka. Nevertheless, not a single Sinhalese was present. They all boycotted the ceremony.

Sinhalese must bear one thing in mind: If we wish to have national unity, we must wholeheartedly accept those Tamils who wish to live within a united Sri Lanka. We must not think that a Tamil Sri Lankan is in some way inferior to a Sinhalese. The boycotting of the ceremony proves that we are against even those Tamils who support Sri Lanka's unity.

If we behave in this manner the entire Tamil community of Sri Lanka will unite, and one fine day we will have to divide up our country with them, giving them their "Eelam".

C. Samarasekara, Jeddah

February 13, 1986

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POLITICS AND MYTH

By Edward Benedict, M.A.

ANY adequate account of the contemporary political scene in Ceylon must include the significant role played by "myth" in the formation of political consciousness. Ceylon's entire history has been shaped by legends, folklore, and myths. Even today these myths are being used by politicians to influence the perceptions and desires of the voting populace. The Dutugemunu-Elara episode is clearly a case in point. This story is often resurrected to satisfy the egocentric drives of the Sinhalese in their quest to establish power over the Tamils. The unfortunate result of this revival of an ancient myth has been the fostering of greater mistrust between two rival peoples. If we are to be able to combat the harm created by the politicization of this myth and others like it, then we must understand better the nature of myth and its ambivalent role in human society.

Mircea Eliade, Bernard Lonergan, and Eric Voegelin have all made important contributions to our present understanding of the role of myth in contemporary and ancient cultures. A myth is regarded by its makers as a true, sacred story of how some present day reality came to be in the very beginning of time. Indeed, a myth is intended to provide the exemplary models for all human activities. Consequently, a myth explains the very meaning and purpose of life for primitive man.

Mythic consciousness is rooted in man's need to express himself and his vision in an *affective, imaginative* manner. But man also has a *logical, intellectual* dimension to his nature. Historically, it was the rise of philosophy which liberated man from the confines of "symbolic" thought and gave him more adequate means to understand and control his world. Nevertheless, critical knowledge cannot dispense with man's need for the "symbolic" knowledge found in myths. The content of a philosopher's insights will have no *effect* upon the human community unless it is embodied in images that elicit feeling and emotion and flow naturally into deeds as well as words.

Therefore, the task that confronts contemporary man is two-fold. He must first "demythologize" those "myths" which still have a hold upon the imagination of the uncritical masses. And then he must be able to "transpose" his critical insights into that symbolic mode of discourse which alone is able to move people to deeds of noble purpose.

The first task of "demythologization" is a crucial necessity if the contemporary Ceylonese political scene is to attain genuine development. The techniques of a Bultmann or Ricoeur can enable scholars to transfer mythical content to a philosophical level. As a result of such a transformation, the people can be educated to appreciate two important facts concerning their nation's mythology. First, a myth must be *fully* understood if it is to be able to be of any value today. For example, there are many features of the Dutugemunu-Elara episode which have been lost or avoided that would tend to undermine the use of this myth to dominate the Tamils. Secondly, a myth is no substitute for critical thought which appeals to logical argument and evidential support. Regardless of the motivation, the appeal to myth to promote one's cause can only ensure the abolition of critical intelligence from the political arena. The result of such a catastrophe would only ensure the perpetuation of secularized versions of the Christian eschatological vision or replicas of the myth of Aryan supremacy.

The achievement of the second task of "transposition" is no less a necessity for scholars and politicians in Ceylon today. Disreputable politicians are able to succeed because they are able to manipulate the populace by means of carefully chosen "symbols". Those politicians who honestly seek the good of the people must also be masters of the "symbolic" mode of discourse. However, what will differentiate their "myths" from those of their more expedient rivals will be their prior achievement of the first task of "demythologization". The "sophists" among us will always utilize those myths which have remained unexamined by critical intelligence. On the contrary, those that follow in Plato's footsteps will only propose those "necessary" myths which have been *purified* by philosophical reflection.

The task of demythologization is that the myth be explained. It is unfortunate though understandable why Sinhala scholarship at least for popular reading and assimilation failed to translate the mythical content in contemporary terms. Obviously it was to their clear advantage to leave the contents intact in its primitive level. The Dravidians were not a people who were invented; they were there, and for centuries they have been considered either as intruders or as a definite threat to national integrity.

The Dutugemunu-Elara episode highlighting the victory of Dutugemunu over Elara has been repeatedly stressed to establish the Sinhala superiority over the Tamils. Dutugemunu is the archetype for the Sinhala national consciousness, and has been often resurrected to enhance the egocentric drives particularly upstaged to establish communal politics. It is deplorable that in that episode many valuable lessons have been lost or deliberately avoided. Mahavansa pictures Dutugemunu's remorsefulness as taking no joy at this event, as Ludowyk rightly mentions 'remembering that thereby was wrought the destruction of millions'. The author continues to remind the readers that it is not Sinhala consciousness, but the heart of the problem is Buddhism. That the nation be saved in the name of Buddhism and for Buddhism was a mandated reality for the Sinhalese people.

"Bhikku Rahula sees Dutugemunu's war as a great crusade to liberate Buddhism from foreign rule. His war cry was 'not for kingdom but for Buddhism'. The entire Sinhalese race was united under the banner of the young Gamini. This was the beginning of nationalism among the Sinhalese. It was a new race with healthy young blood organized under the new order of Buddhism. A king of religio-nationalism, which almost amounted to fanaticism, roused the whole Sinhalese people. A non-Buddhist was not regarded as a human being. Evidently all Sinhalese without exception were Buddhists."

The conflict is 2500 years old; the time has come to sort myth, traditional and false consciousness, to build a better world order where men can hope to live with humanity and decency.

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NO TAMIL CAROLS

DESPITE all exhortations about communal harmony, amity and peace talks practice of linguistic discrimination still flourishes in state institutions, writes a correspondent to a newspaper in Sri Lanka.

On Sunday, 15th December '85, a Christmas programme was telecast. One half of the programme was carols in Sinhala and the other half, carols in English. Tamil carols were significant by their absence.

"It was a great pity, nay a calamity, that whoever arranged the programme did not think it necessary or fit to complete the picture of racial harmony, even at Christmas, by including at least a single carol in Tamil".

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Speak out, please

GODS don't answer, they silently take decisions. But then, Rajiv Gandhi, India's young Prime Minister, has no pretence to being a God though he remains a hero beyond his party caucus and circle. Political hero, to be exact. And we think the time has come for him to view the sordid happenings in Sri Lanka from the point of view of an *Indian* hero, whose prime concern is, or should be, India's own enlightened self-interest.

He will be doing less than justice to himself if he harps on an equation between the stupid, romantic acts of terror by some misguided individuals and the diabolical and determined State-Terror that is let loose on the whole of Tamil ethnic population in the north and east of the hell-hole called Sri Lanka. He should draw the line between these two and publicly condemn the atrocious killings by the Lankan troops of innocent Tamilians. He should know that no purpose would be served by his current 'bureaucratic' and standoffish policy of gaining Lankan goodwill at the expense of the Tamil goodwill, in the island, in India and all over the world. He should not alienate the Tamils any more. The damage has already been done and it is time now to stem and reverse its course further down.

Not without justification, even moderate Tamil leaders feel let down at the absence of India's public *censure* of the systematic genocide that is taking place in Sri Lanka in the last two months. They recall with nostalgia the prompt statement issued by Indira Gandhi when ethnic killings took place in the island in June-July 1983. She said then that India could not remain silent at the killing of innocent Tamils in the island.

OTHER OPINION

A depth of knowledge of the background to the conflict in Sri Lanka is evident in this editorial in "News Today" (Madras). Though written in December 1985, the question it raises and the message it contains still deserve serious consideration.

Everybody knows Indira Gandhi was never ignorant of the rules of the game and diplomatic niceties. She was not in any way interfering with Lanka's internal problem, but she was concerned over the spillover which had serious effects on India's polity and public opinion. The brief and sharp words she spoke had had a restraining effect on Sri Lanka, although the Jayewardene clique made a song and dance of India's alleged 'bullymanship'.

It is pathetic that the present Government, by its very silence and its clumsy attempt to gloss over the atrocities in Sri Lanka, has failed to grasp the harm being done to its very image in appearing to be a privy to the killings. Perhaps this statement is harsh, but its purpose is to galvanize the Centre into properly assessing the mood of anger that is sweeping the Tamils of India over the plight of their brethren across the Palk Straits.

In the last two months, the Lankan Government, under the cover of praising Rajiv Gandhi sky-high, has put through a plan of changing the demographic composition in the eastern region. At first, it successfully instigated communal riots between Muslim Tamils and Hindu Tamils. Later, it sent thugs in the uniforms of home guards to attack Tamils with the protection of law and drive out the Tamil population from their hearth and home. It organised 'apologies' of relief camps where Tamils were herded in, as if they were no better than cattle heads. Now, attempts are being made to squeeze the refugee Tamils into a 25-square mile area to make it possible for troops and thugs to liquidate them at the word *'go'*. And the word may come any time now. According to British media, which has no axe to grind and which is not unfriendly to the Sri Lankan Government, more than 5,000 Tamils had been butchered in the eastern region since August last.

The scene of operations has lately shifted to Jaffna, the traditional homeland of Tamils. According to Western media reports, helicopter gunships and armoured vehicles are mowing down the civilian population from the air and on the ground mercilessly. There could be no precise count of the dead whose bodies are being burnt *en masse*, according to the Liberal British newspaper *Guardian*.

Until a few months ago, the Lankan troops were afraid to move out of the barracks but now they are on the prowl. **They shoot at first sight and don't have to explain anything,** the British newspaper says. This could not have been the result of mere troop misbehaviour. Evidently, the whole operation has been designed to the last detail by the Colombo Government which makes no secret of its intention to indulge in *genocide*. Not without significance President Jayewardene, a *neo-Hitler from toe to top* brags about the genocidal nature of his operations.

Delhi should realise that this brazenness could have had a lot to do with its ill-advised policy of wooing and

Jayewardene as seen by the Cartoonist of the Sinhala paper – The ATHTHA

JAFFNA BOMBED

Seven civilians, including two children, were killed and 16 others injured in bombing and firing by the Sri Lanka Air Force in the outskirts of Jaffna on 19th February.

Fourteen houses, a rice mill, a power loom, the Vairavar Temple and a bo-tree were damaged.

The places affected by the bombing were Thavady, Suthumalai, Manipay, Kondavil and Navaly.

The bombing, by five Air Force planes, had started around 4.30 p.m. and gone on for nearly one hour.

Later, a helicopter had come over and begun firing.

In the meantime, the Army had fired a number of shells towards Jaffna town itself.

The two children killed were Suntharalingam Mayuran (7 years) and Sri Rangan Raja Segar (12) of Thurai Road, Thavady North.

They and their mother had taken cover under a flat when the bomb fell on the roof.

THEY HAD BURN MARKS ON THEIR BODIES, INDICATING, ACCORDING TO MEDICAL OPINION, THAT SOME TYPE OF INCENDIARY BOMBS HAD BEEN USED.

The apparent provocation for the aerial attack – the first in Sri Lanka since World War II when the Japanese bombed Colombo and Trincomalee in 1942 – was the reported presence of a camp of the Tamil Eelam Army (TEA), led by 'Panagoda' Maheswaran, in the Thavady area.

On 15th February, an alleged informer, Chellappa Selvanayagam (35) of Inuvil had been executed by the TEA.

In the Army firing from the fort, Pathmanathan (25), from Kandy, an employee at a bakery on Main Street, Jaffna, about a quarter of a mile away, was killed. A waiter at a hotel on Main St., a few hundred yards away from the Fort, was hit by shrapnel and injured.

A man who took shelter under the bo-tree, during the bombing, was also killed.

The SATURDAY REVIEW was represented at the funerals.

By courtesy of SATURDAY REVIEW of February 22, 1986

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***Speak out, please*—continued**

placating the Asian Hitler beyond the limits of reason and its own self-interest. It should realise that a honest and public denunciation of the killings is called for, followed by other steps. **If Rajiv Gandhi is right in condemning the atrocities of the apartheid regime, he cannot be held wrong for speaking out his mind on the happenings in Sri Lanka, especially when these developments lead to huge influx of Tamil refugees right into India.**

We do not for a moment hold any brief for the sporadic violence on the part of the Tamil groups. It is unfortunate that some of these groups whose leaders are settled in Madras do not realise the harm being caused by such activities to the innocent Tamils in Jaffna, facing violence and a squeeze-in on both sides, troops on one side and the ever-suspicious and trigger-happy ultras on the other. **For every killing of a lone trooper, the retaliation comes in the form of 25 killings, the victims being defenceless and innocent persons.**

A civil insurrection presupposes organisation and unity among those who believe in a cause to the exclusion of everything else. The weakness of the Lankan Tamils, as well as the Palestinians, is the absence of such unity for the common cause. **It is a fact that Tamil groups are fighting more among themselves than the common enemy and are often engaged in the game of upmanship. They do not serve themselves. No Liberation movement can allow itself to degenerate into factional and warring groups cutting at each other's throat all the time. The cause will be lost for all.**

There is need to get at the root of yesterday's bomb blast at the residence of Dr. A. Balasingham, the representative of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam at the Thimpu and Delhi talks. Almost all the Tamil groups have hastened to venture the theory that the Lankan agents, aided by Israeli Mossad, might have been behind the aborted attempt on the life of the London-based Tamil leader who is now residing here. This needs to be carefuly investigated although we don't, for a moment, believe that Mossad or Lankan agents could have a free run of this country. If there are Mossad or Lankan agents present here as alleged, they may well be infiltrators into the ranks of the Tamil groups themselves. In any case, the leaders of the Tamil groups owe it to their own interests to look inside their ranks and eliminate the dubious elements.

It is true that Lanka Government is using the opportunity of a surface-political dialogue to prepare for, and put into execution, a military solution on the Tamils. The best way this could be countered is to match the Lankan Government's wits with statesmanship and more effective diplomacy. The Prime Minister cannot any more complain about lack of alternative proposals from the Tamils' side. The ENLF can't afford to adopt an attitude of an uncommitted neutral or remain indifferent to the TULF package. **Wisdom lies in its going along with the TULF package and put the onus of rejecting it squarely on the UNP Government.** Also, the ENLF must give up its basic moorings in racist chauvinism. It must forge links with the progressive sections in Sri Lanka's polity, instead of driving them to a corner of acquiscence with the discredited UNP and its rump regime. *Battles in modern days do not involve missiles and megatons alone. They involve minds and hearts and sooner this is realised, better it is for all.*

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Right to Object to Armed Service

The Civil Rights Movement is shocked at the manner in which the MOBILISATION AND SUPPLEMENTARY FORCES ACT was rushed through Parliament as "urgent in the national interest" without giving even MPs the opportunity to study its provisions, a procedure which led the Opposition to walk out in protest. This undemocratic haste made it impossible for CRM to study the Bill and to advise itself as to the desirability of canvassing certain of its provisions before the Supreme Court. CRM protests yet again at the misuse of the "urgent in the national interest" provision of the constitution to prevent public discussion and representations essential to the democratic process.

CRM is still studying the implications of this Act: In particular CRM is concerned about the implications of raising, training and maintaining an armed reserve and supplementary forces outside the carefully drawn up scheme of the Army, Navy and Air Force Acts. Despite the meticulous provisions of these Acts, which are impressive pieces of legislation, in the current ethnic violence we have had serious breakdowns of morale and discipline among the regular armed forces and unwarranted attacks on civilians. What is needed is to restore and strengthen discipline in the armed forces; the creation of forces outside the regular framework and not subject to the same training and traditions seems hardly conducive to this end.

At the present moment however CRM wishes to concentrate on only one aspect of this Act. Provision is made, for the first time in our history, for conscription, that is to say the compulsory call-up of civilians to perform armed service. No provision is made for a person to seek exemption on the ground of conscience or profound conviction arising from religious, ethical, moral, humanitarian, philosophical or other similar motives. It is the view of CRM that this right flows naturally from the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion guaranteed by Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights to which Sri Lanka is a party. This is the view taken by the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe which in 1967 set out the basic principles of the right to conscientious objection to military service. Its resolution is reproduced in Annex A.

CRM urges the government to make provision for conscientious objection to military service in accordance with the principles and procedures laid down in the carefully thought out provisions of the resolution of the Consultative Assembly.

Desmond Fernando
Secretary

(Statement of the Working Committee)

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Sunday 30 March – 3.45 p.m. London Tamil Congregation Easter Service at Putney Methodist Church.

Sunday 13 April – S.C.O.T. Tamil New Year's Lunch. Lola Jones Hall, Greaves Place, off Garratt Lane, London, S.W.17. Tickets from Treasurer. Tel: 01-422 8984.

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OBITUARIES

AMBIHAIPAHAN, S. Former Principal, Vaideeswara College, Jaffna.

BUELL, Sam. Husband of Chloe, father of Sharmala and Rajeev, son of late R.O. Buell and Mrs. Buell, 2/18 Charles Drive, Colombo.

DEVASAGAYAM, Jacob. Former Headmaster, North Erlalai.

GANESH, Selliah. Asst Collector of Customs, Jaffna, Husband of Thirumalar (Lecturer, Kopay Training College). Died under tragic circumstances. 136, Kachcheri Nallur Road, Jaffna.

GUNASEGARAM, D.R. (81). Retd Asst. Assessor, Income Tax and Attorney-at-Law. Husband of Lily (daughter of late Mr. & Mrs. J.V. Chelliah).

KARTHIGESU, V. Former General Manager, Sugar Corporation. Passed away 30 January at Alaveddy. Husband of Chellamma (Ramanathan College), father of Sugunan (Toronto), Thayalan (Batticaloa University) and Gunalan (Germany).

PHILIP, Aroney. Retd Dt Fisheries Extension Officer and President, Fisheries Extension Service Societies Union. Passaiyoor, Jaffna.

PONRAJAH, Princely. (Retd Director of Irrigation. Husband of Tirzah (neé Fry). 203 New Bullens Road, Colombo 4.

RAJASEKARAN, T.K. Retd Vice-Principal, Parameswara College. Earlier, Lecturer in Mathematics, Madras Christian College, Tambaram. Husband of Ponmany (nee Suppiah). 4856, Katherine Ave, Sherman Oaks, Ca 91423, U.S.A.

RETNASWAMY, Rev. Fr. Tarcissus of Amalotpavam, Jaffna. Son of late S. Veeragathipillai of Thondamanar.

SANKARALINGHAM, Gangatharan (Thurai), son of Mr. & Mrs. V. Sankaralingam, of 106 Adelaide Road, London W13 and final year medical student at Patna Medical College, expired 20 February. Cremated at Patna.

SATHASIVAM, A.V. Attorney-at-law, J.P., U.M., former Chairman, Town Council, Kankesanturai and father-in-law of the late T. Thirunavukarasu (one time M.P. for Vaddukoddai).

YOGARAJAH, Dr. (Mrs.) Pearl, formerly of the staff of Green Memorial Hospital, Manipay. Wife of S. Yogarajah, (Attorney-at-Law) and daughter of late Mr. & Mrs. J.C. Sabaratnam (Union College, Tellipallai).

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on

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– Professor Virginia A. Leary, on behalf of the International Commission of Jurists.

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The headquarters for the Convention will be the Holiday Inn, Nanuet, New York. It is readily accessible from all expressways.

Travellers from overseas – for directions from airport, please call Holiday Inn. Accommodation must be arranged directly with the Holiday Inn. Telephone (914) 623-0600.

Convention Design:

The Convention will consist of a two day program of special and highly focussed presentations and panel discussions revolving around the theme *'Genocide of the Tamils of Sri Lanka'.*

Pre-Convention Sessions and Early Registration:

Meeting and greeting and getting to know one another – on Thursday 3rd July, 1986 at 6.30 pm at the Holiday Inn.

Post-Convention Cultural Event – 'THAMILAR THIRUNAL'

A day of family-oriented social events has been arranged to be held on Sunday, July 6th, from 10.00 am – 5.00 pm at 89 Tennyson Drive, Nanuet, New York, hosted by Dr. W.V. Panchacharam. All the participants are cordially invited. Please notify the number attending.

Registration (Includes main meals and coffee breaks)

Professionals – (Medical and others)	$350.00 per couple
Non-Professionals	$200 per couple
Foreign participants and students over 18 years	$75.00 each

Parents who wish to bring their children should contact the Secretary for rates and accommodation. Appropriate activities will be provided for their entertainment.

Checks should be made payable to the **Eelam Tamils Association of America,** and mailed to the Secretary, World Thamil Eelam Convention, 89 Tennyson Drive, Nanuet, New York, 10954.
Tel: (914) 623-6510.

Closing Date:

Residents of USA and Canada	March 31, 1986
Foreign participants	April 30, 1986

Persons interested in submitting articles for the souvenir please contact the editors before March 31st, 1986.

English articles: Mr. Edward Benedict, 17 Argyle Terrace, Yonkers, New York 10701. Tel: (914) 963-2997

Tamil articles: Mr. Aru Gopalan, 4/77, Subhedhar Garden, Madras 600094, Tamil Nadu, India.

The Editors reserve the right to select appropriate articles for publication.

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